



OLD CRAB (1722-1750)

The Equine F. F. Vs.

*A study of the evidence for the English horses imported
into Virginia before the Revolution*



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PREFACE

THE compilation of the material out of which this book has grown was undertaken by one who has made some essays in the genealogy of human immigrants to Virginia and was curious to compare critically the problems of that study with those of the specialists in the genealogy of imported English horses. In that respect he found a closer parallel than he expected; for he discovered that the men who migrated from England to colonial America in the seventeenth century and failed to set up in their new homes definite and indisputable evidences of their origins were succeeded in the next century by sons and grandsons who were equally negligent in the preservation of the breeding records of their imported horses. It almost seems as if a law of sea change might be deduced from these premises. On the other hand, the investigator found that the modern practice of equine genealogy has reached a higher average historical level than that of contemporary human genealogy. He feels justified, then, in recommending the study of Stud Books, and the really remarkable literature of scientific generalization which has been founded upon them, to those patriotic societies of America in which genealogy has become a cult. 'Excellent books, sir; they will do very well indeed,' was the classical reply of Jack Mytton's Oxford tutor to a stipulation by that Shropshire worthy that he would 'read nothing but the Racing Calendar and the Stud Book.'

The original purpose was to collect enough material for a paper for the *Virginia Historical Magazine*, but the accumulation proved beyond the capacity of a periodical, with the result that only part of it was published, in October, 1927. The justification for now printing the complete essay is the hope that another reminder of the original primacy of the Old Dominion in horse breeding in America may be a stimulus to those Virginians who today practice that art. No claim of authority is made, however. The essay towards a Bibliography

of Virginia horse literature should be of use, for that is something which has been sadly needed: but as to the technical pedigree material, the attempt has been only to array the extant sources in a form convenient for the use of specialists in their thorny debates.

Of more general interest, doubtless, will be the results of the search for evidence to identify the early horse importers and breeders of Virginia. In that respect there is here arrayed a special 'Who's Who' which is significant in any estimate of the ante-Revolutionary society of Virginia; for it is a cross section of a community. We find in it, as we might expect, many well known magnates; and beside them others for whom one has to search. The number of Scottish names is surprising until their bearers are revealed as merchants. These men imported and stood horses for precisely the same reason that the proprietors of the modern department stores use newsprint by the square foot. They knew their public and 'it pays to advertise.' More interesting are the representatives of the class which would have been called yeomen in contemporary England: sport loving planters of moderate circumstances, often descended from the earliest adventurers, who bred blood horses in order to be able to wager their tobacco on them.

It should be noted that these lists of horses and their owners are not necessarily exhaustive. In the state of the available evidence, all that can be claimed in that respect is that the search has been diligent; that no clew has been neglected. For the same consideration some of the importation dates assigned are no more than tentative. Casual scraps of contemporary correspondence have in several instances completely upset the stud book records; and so are persuasive that further testimony of that character might lead to similar conclusions in other cases. It is interesting to note the same uncertainty as to the dates of importation of Eastern horses into England (*cf.* GSB, i, 388).

The compiler could not have accomplished his task without the co-operation of many friends, to whom he renders grateful

acknowledgments. Among them it is pleasant to name here that resourceful authority on Virginia families, Dr. W. G. Stanard of Richmond, who has patiently and cheerfully contributed leads to the identification of some of the horse owners; Mr. Harry Worcester Smith (sometime M. F. H. in Virginia), who has generously opened his noted Lordvale collections to the quest for illustrations; and Mr. Hugh A. Morrison of the Library of Congress, to whom all frequenters of that institution are in debt, who has been at characteristic pains to aid in the attempted solution of bibliographic puzzles. Finally, and most of all, acknowledgment is due, for constructive criticism as well as the supply of material, to that unfailing pundit in all that relates to the history of the American thoroughbred horse, Mr. John L. O'Connor of Schuylerville, New York. That generous aid does not, however, commit Mr. O'Connor to interpretations for which the present editor alone is responsible.

F. H.

BELVOIR HOUSE,

Fauquier County, Virginia.

February, 1928.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

[MSS.] *The scant manuscript source records:*

IN the hope of discovering something fresh to supplement the traditions of colonial horses and racing, which have been handed down to the modern stud books, diligent and systematic search has been made throughout Virginia, with the aid of many interested friends, for eighteenth century private stud books and correspondence. The sheaves garnered have been significant but scant, viz: a letter of the first wife of William Byrd III, of Westover, dated in 1757 and referring to Valiant and Calista; the letter book of John Baylor of Caroline county covering the years 1761-65 (kindly made available by Major Bernard M. Baylor); and a gossiping sporting letter of John Tayloe II, of Mount Airy, dated in 1773 and referring to his Yorick.

Unfortunately, no MSS. seem to have survived to speak for Mordecai Booth, Ralph Wormeley, or Joseph Morton, the other leading Virginia horsemen of those crucial middle years of the eighteenth century, when the first English bred horses were imported, and the practice of advertising had not yet obtained. A similar failure must be recorded in this search for the long desired stud papers of 'English John' Bland, who lived at Blandford in the years preceding the Revolution; of his cousin, Col. Theodorick Bland, of 'Cawson's' (see the Bland pedigree in the Harleian Society's *Familiae Minorum Gentium*); and of Gen. Alexander Spotswood. This is another disappointment of the hope still cherished by many American horsemen of proving the breeding, on her dam's side, of that interesting imported mare, Duchess (alias Diamond), who is a taproot in the disputed Lexington pedigree.

For the period immediately following the American Revolution the MS. material is greater. It includes, notably, the Mount Airy Stud Book of the third John Tayloe (which was used by Bruce), now in the possession of E. D. Tayloe, Esq., of Edgehill in Albemarle; the minute book of the Tappahannock Jockey Club, now in the possession of W. H. Tayloe, Esq., at Mount Airy; and some lively domestic reminiscences of Malcolm Hart (1752-1816) of Louisa, and his Medley imp. 1783 (kindly made available by Judge Thomas B. Robertson of Hopewell); but for this particular study these papers, interesting and important as they are, are of only incidental aid.

[VG, MG, PG, PC] *The colonial newspapers:*

The source material here chiefly relied on to check the modern stud books is contemporary newspaper advertisements of horses at stud. Apparently no such advertisements appeared before 1750; at least none is extant. The few blood horses then in the colony must have been well known among those interested, and the spirit of commercialism in what was then still deemed peculiarly the privilege of a gentleman was as yet undeveloped. But, beginning with Morton's Traveller and Duval's Silver Eye in 1751, such advertisements multiply with the importations. Those in the *Virginia Gazette* (cited VG) are supplemented by the *Maryland Gazette* (cited MG), the *Pennsylvania Gazette* (cited PG), the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* (cited PC), and newspapers of South Carolina and New Jersey. The loss of practically all the files of VG for the years 1753-65 is unfortunate in this enquiry (as in many others into the eighteenth century civilization of Virginia) for it was in those years that many of the horses here arrayed were imported and the lack of advertisements leaves us sadly to seek in definite importation dates, and the earliest breeding certificates.

[GSB] *The General Stud Book, containing Pedigrees of Race Horses &c &c from the earliest accounts*, ed. Weatherby, London, Volume One [Preliminary editions, 1791, 1793, 1800, 1803; first complete edition, 1808], Fifth edition, 1891.

The History of the Racing Calendar and Stud Book, by C. M. Prior, London, 1926.

The earliest systematic record of English bred horses is found in the *Racing Calendar*, published periodically during the eighteenth century, as follows, viz: (1) 1727-1750 by John Cheny; (2) 1751-1757 by John Pond; (3) 1751-1768 by Reginald Heber; (4) 1769-1772 by William Tutting and Thomas Fawconer; (5) 1773 and onward by James Weatherby, Keeper of the Match Book and Secretary of the Jockey Club. The Calendars are still maintained as a record of racing; but as a source of pedigrees they were superseded in 1791 by Weatherby's publication of his first essay towards a *General Stud Book*. This publication, since revised and extended in many volumes, is the English *livre d'or* of the horse, inclusion in which is the English test of the 'thoroughbred.'

The citations of GSB, in the text of the following essay, are to the *fifth*, or Centennial, edition (1891) of Volume One, which is the latest.

[AF & ATR] *J. S. Skinner's periodicals:*

The initiative of John Stuart Skinner (1788-1851) of Baltimore effectively preserved much tradition and many breeding certificates which had been handed down to the Virginians who were active on the turf from 1819-1835. For this consideration, Mr. Skinner's two periodicals, both published at Baltimore during that period, *The American Farmer*, 1819-1829 (cited AF), and *The American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*, 1829-1835 (cited ATR), remain source books on the horse of fundamental value. More than that, the peculiar and fragrant aroma of a dead past, which lingers in these pages, must ever give them an abiding charm for everyone who finds gusto in country life and sport and cherishes Virginia traditions.

AF was inaugurated as a purely agricultural periodical; but soon contained a modest department, headed 'Sporting Olio,' in which racing news and pedigrees were collected. The historical significance of the *Annals of the Turf* (see *post*) in the literature of American sport is enhanced by the probability that the success achieved by those essays first suggested to Skinner the then still latent opportunity for specialization in race horse journalism. It was following the publication of the *Annals* in AF that the 'Sporting Olio' was steadily expanded at the expense of space previously devoted to agricultural discussion. Thenceforth the 'Olio' became the feature of the newspaper; and, so, lead directly to the foundation of ATR in 1829, and the ensuing rivalry and ultimate prevalence of the *Spirit of the Times*.

[Advocate] *Annals of the Turf* by 'An Advocate for the Turf': Petersburg and Baltimore, 1826.

On May 23, 1826, the editor of the Petersburg *Intelligencer* newspaper announced his forthcoming publication of a series of communicated essays entitled *Annals of the Turf*. No clue was given to the author and when the papers appeared they were signed only 'An Advocate for the Turf.' This publication had an immediate success throughout the Southside, then the centre of Virginia's racing activity. As the Petersburg editor had expected, the *Annals* were 'eagerly read by the amateur, the sportsman and the breeder.' The circulation of this original publication being, however, necessarily limited, the alert J. S. Skinner thereupon secured permission to reprint the *Annals* for the benefit of the wider public of his *American Farmer* (viii, 102 ff.). In turn, the new readers acclaimed and asked for more; with the result that in 1828 the obliging 'Advocate' contributed direct to AF (x, 71, ff.) a collection of pedigrees; and in 1830 resumed his *Annals* as original

contributions to ATR (ii, 572, ff.). Eventually, these scattered papers were collected and edited under the original title in the fifth (1830) and all subsequent editions of the *New Pocket Farrier* (post).

These papers were originally intended to be an argument of the necessity for an American stud book, but they became delightfully discursive. 'Advocate' showed himself to be deeply versed in the philosophy and technique of his subject, including the traditions of the early imported English horses. He was the first systematic writer on the bred horse in America, and, in consequence, is a source from which all his successors have drawn. He is particularly important to this study because he had before him breeding certificates which have otherwise disappeared; as well as horse advertisements from the lost files of VG, 1753-65.

Following the original appearance of the *Annals*, the author was less careful of his pseudonymity, doubtless because contemporary horsemen then generally knew who he was. He published (AF, ix, 310, 359, 366, 390, 406; x, 151) a series of desultory letters on horse questions, signed either 'Author of Annals of the Turf' or 'Advocate for the Blood Horse,' in which he left clues to his identity. Three of these letters were dated from 'Person County, N. C.,' one from 'Raleigh, N. C.,' and one from 'Red House, N. C.' This last place name directs attention to a contemporary series of letters on agricultural questions (AF, viii, 77, 194; x, 218, 308, 361; xi, 33), all dated from 'Red House N. C.,' and uniformly signed 'James W. Jeffreys.' In one of them (AF, x, 361) the writer refers to 'my brother George W. Jeffreys,' which serves as a reminder that in 1827 (or after the publication of the earliest issues of the *Annals*) one of Skinner's correspondents (AF, ix, 190) had nominated 'George W. Jeffreys of North Carolina' as qualified to compile such an American stud book as would command the respect of horsemen. Turning now to the records of Caswell and Person counties, N. C., we find there (in the will of Thomas Jeffreys of Caswell, proved 1832: *Caswell W. B.*, M: 162) confirmation of the fraternity thus advertised, and proof that George W. Jeffreys was the only member of his family who lived in Person: 'Red House Plantation' in Caswell, the paternal seat whence James W. Jeffreys dated all of his letters and the 'Author of the Annals of the Turf' only one, being later devised by Thomas Jeffreys to 'my son James W. Jeffreys.' When to this nexus we link the facts that Edgar listed both brothers twice, viz: 'George Washington Jeffries (*sic*) of Person Co. N. C.' (*Golden Fleece*, p. 239; *Jolly Air*, p. 277); and 'James Jeffries (*sic*) of the Red House, Caswell County, N. C.' (*Giles Scroggins*, p. 236; *Kitty Clover*, p. 288); and that in 1834 'G. W. Jeffreys, N. C.' was recorded by his brother (ATR, vi, 104) as the owner of a stud of blood horses (including

a colt by Sir Archy out of a Bainbridge), it seems a reasonable deduction to conclude that, on his own confession, George W. Jeffreys of Person was our 'Advocate.' But, in any event, a comparison of the characteristic literary style of the *Annals* with that of agricultural papers signed by George Jeffreys with his own name (e. g., AF, iii, 39) brings home a conviction.

To those who object to this identification that the local colour of the *Annals* testifies that the author was a Virginian, it may be argued that George Jeffreys was as much a representative of the Virginian tradition as any recent emigrant from the Old Dominion. Caswell (1777) and Person (1791) are post-revolutionary subdivisions of the colonial North Carolina county of Orange. Lying immediately below the Virginia line, they constitute part of the southern lip of the watershed of the Roanoke valley and so from their earliest settlement were in close association with Southside Virginia; from which they drew, prior to 1776, many immigrants and a characteristic tobacco growing, horse loving civilization. Thence, too, they long returned their products of the soil: Petersburg (where the *Annals* were first published) being their tobacco market until the Richmond and Danville railroad was opened, after George Jeffreys' death. For these considerations it is fair to assume that the Jeffreys of Caswell and Person had their recent origin in Virginia and were of the numerous family of that name found in the early records of Mecklenburg and Halifax.

George Washington Jeffreys (1797?-1848) of Person county, North Carolina, was the younger son named in the will (1832) of Thomas Jeffreys of Caswell. The earliest available testimony for him is as a student at the University of North Carolina in 1813. In 1817 (AF, ii, 18) he attempted to organize a local Agricultural Society, similar to that then in successful operation in Albemarle county, Virginia; and to that end wrote, as only a young man would, to notable agriculturists, both theoretical and practical, inviting advice and instruction. Thomas Jefferson, John Taylor of Caroline, William Meriwether of Amelia, Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts, Richard Peters of Pennsylvania, and others, responded voluminously. In 1820 Jeffreys published, serially (AF, ii, 5, ff.), the collection thus made; and later (1828) re-edited it in a pamphlet published by the North Carolina Board of Agriculture. He was thus already a practised publicist and a familiar contributor to the *American Farmer* when the *Annals* were first published. Our next record of him is as a member of the North Carolina Council of State from 1824 to 1834; which would account for the Raleigh date line on some of 'Advocate's' letters. To these meagre biographical notes we can add only that the Person records reveal George Jeffreys as a large land and slave holder, and that he died in 1848, leaving a will

(*Person W. B.*, xiii, 78), naming three daughters. None of his name remains to represent him in Caswell or Person. More than that, the changes in the civilization of that community which have followed the War between the States (*Soil Survey of Caswell County, N. C.*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1910) have extirpated even a local tradition of this old time worthy.

[Mason] *The Gentleman's New Pocket Farrier* by Richard Mason, M. D., formerly of Surry County, Virginia. *To which is added Annals of the Turf, American Stud Book . . .* (Fifth edition): Richmond, 1830.

This admirable and long familiar manual of horsemastership belongs to an ancient tradition. It is a book of practical and empirical wisdom rather than what we now call science. As such it may claim descent from Xenophon's *Peri Hippikes*; but its immediate ancestor was a seventeenth century Frenchman.

In 1664 J. de Solleysell published in Paris his *Parfait maréchal* which at once became standard and was reproduced in successive French editions down to 1775. Translated into English by Sir William Hope, it was abridged as *The Complete Horseman or Pocket Farrier*, and in that form reached a fourth edition in 1756. William Hunter, the Williamsburg printer, then imported the book and advertised it for distribution in Virginia (VG, April 22, 1757); and during the remainder of the eighteenth century this *Pocket Farrier* was as anxiously studied on Virginia plantations as it was in English studs.

Thus it was that when, in 1801, Dr. Richard Mason of Surry (for whose family see *post*, under 'Evans' Sterling') published at Richmond a little book of Virginia horse lore he looked back on the English *Pocket Farrier* and called his essay the *New Pocket Farrier*. Like his originals in French and English, Dr. Mason satisfied a real demand and inaugurated a real success: his book was reproduced in edition after edition for seventy-five years.

In the fifth edition, published at Richmond by Peter Cottom in 1830, there was included, with the *Annals of the Turf* heretofore noticed, an *American Stud Book*. No name of a compiler was advertised, but it seems probable that this was the work on which Theophilus Feild (1788-1826) of Brunswick had been engaged for several years before his death, and which James J. Harrison of 'Diamond Grove' in Brunswick (the owner of Virginian and Sir Charles) then undertook to complete, as noted in AF, ix, 143, 190. See also for the identification

of these resourceful and able horsemen, the obituary of Theophilus Feild in the *Richmond Enquirer* newspaper, August 1, 1826; the Feild pedigree in Dr. Slaughter's *Bristol Parish*; the notes on J. J. Harrison and his horses in AF, ix, 406; ATR, i, 370; vi, 173; and Edgar's dedication of his Stud Book.

On its appearance this Stud Book was welcomed as an honest effort to supply what 'Advocate' so vigorously urged to be necessary and, in consequence, was carried forward in all the subsequent editions of the *New Pocket Farrier* down to that of 1873, i. e., until after the first volume of Bruce was available. Even today, it has interest if now merely historical, for it was the well thumbed bible of Virginia horsemen for half a century.

[Edgar] *The American Race-Turf Register, Sportsman's Herald and General Stud Book*, by Patrick Nisbett Edgar of Granville County, N. C.: New York, 1833.

This interesting and provocative book has a bad reputation among horsemen. An early and widely read review (ATR, v, 339) pointed out that a number of the pedigrees it recorded were erroneous, and others have since been denounced as pure invention. Edgar's aberrations may have been due to credulity (as in the case of the Wild Medley, about whose identity as much ink has been spilled as with respect to that of the 'Man in the Iron Mask'); to mere complaisance; or even to personal vanity (see his record of his own mare, Cameleon). These are grave defects of scholarship, but they do not necessarily connote bad faith. The discerning reader may weigh and assay them; as he can the annoying blunders in the transcription of names and dates, in which the book abounds. If Edgar had been a deliberate fakir he could not have had access to the MS. records of John Randolph of Roanoke and Theophilus Feild; nor could he have printed the endorsements which appear in the front and back of his book: not only of acquaintances like John C. Goode of Mecklenburg and James J. Harrison of Brunswick, but of William T. Porter, the editor of the *Spirit of the Times*.

For these considerations it seems probable that Edgar's foibles were originally seized upon to make of him a sacrifice to that sectionalism which has ever been characteristic of Virginia. Lacking acquaintance and social status in the Rappahannock valley, such as his neighbor George W. Jeffreys evidently had, he was unable to obtain first hand material for the horses of that community; and his omissions and blunders being most conspicuous as to them, his book was plausibly condemned by the contemporary horsemen who cherished the traditions of

a region which was then highly conscious of the facts that it had inaugurated horse breeding in America and had lost its leadership. As it happened, those worthies, like the New England historians of their time, set the standards of subsequent opinion in their specialty. Edgar was crushed, and never dared to publish his promised second volume of revisions and later pedigrees. Even today, he remains an outsider, against whom the neophyte in the mysteries of horse breeding is solemnly warned.

Having thus performed the function of the hierophant, one ventures to say that, used with discretion, as all Stud Books should be, Edgar has value. As an authority, he may be null; but as a source book, he is priceless. During years of association with horsemen in the Southside, when that territory was the race ground of Virginia, he patiently collected and recorded a fund of regional oral tradition, including descriptions of horses and anecdotes of their owners which have survived nowhere else. To justify this claim, it will suffice to cite his reminiscences of the old time Southside quarter horses, Goode's Babram, Black Snake, King Tammany, Sutherland's Virginian, Polly Williams; most of all, of Twigg and Paddy Whack, and the tale of the race won by Webster's Koulikhan with John Randolph up. Again, he has a group of sapid anecdotes of the adventures of horses captured by the British during the Revolutionary War, and some entertaining derivations of horse names (e. g., Jamaica and Warning); while the names and dates and incidental record of relationships of breeders make Edgar a rich mine for the human genealogist of the Southside.

In regard to the English horses imported prior to the Revolution, with which we are here immediately concerned, Edgar is valuable next only after Advocate. He had access, through the MSS. of Theophilus Feild, to notes from the stud papers of Theodorick Bland of 'Cawson's' (those lost books of Livy), and thence a direct tradition of the Westover stud. If he knew little of the English horses owned on the Rappahannock River, he was strong on ancestral breeding certificates for those owned on the James and the Roanoke. It was he who preserved the traditions of the earliest importations, Bulle Rock, the Clarke mare, and the Gower mare; indeed, a process of elimination shows Edgar to be the fountain of our records of a substantial quota of the foundation stock.

In this situation it is not altogether creditable to the accepted historians of the horse in America, however ashamed they have been of the provenience of their material, that they did not give Edgar credit for that part of his work which they adopted and sanctified. We

have, therefore, ventured not only to cite and quote Edgar freely, but to do so by name. In that respect we have followed Wallace, whose judicious comment on Edgar in his own *Stud Book* (1867) is as follows:

'The wordiness of the title is a very fair indication of the character and style of the contents. The work cost Mr. Edgar years of toil, for which he was never compensated. Aside from its wonderful verbosity, the work is remarkable for two features, the great number of animals it contains, with astonishingly long pedigrees that no person has heard of before or since, and the great number of distinguished animals thoroughly interwoven in our turf history which it does not contain. Notwithstanding these glaring faults, which appear to have originated in prejudices and fancies, it was a great undertaking and contains much information nowhere else obtainable, but the book itself never met with the favor and confidence of the public This compilation embraces every animal in Mr. Edgar's book; and in every instance where the pedigree is taken from that book Mr. Edgar's name is appended to it. This course I have chosen as due to Mr. Edgar, that whatever of merit or absurdity attaches to a pedigree may be placed where it belongs.'

[Skinner] *The General Stud Book* *First American from the second London edition*. Published by J. S. Skinner, Baltimore, 1834.

This American edition of GSB was made up of the first three volumes, all that had been published before 1834. Its present value is due to the fact that Mr. Skinner included several lists of horses and mares imported to America with pedigrees and the names of importers or subsequent owners; the sources of which add to their authority. One of them (AF, x, 71, ff.) was that of 'Advocate,' and another (ATR, ii, 211), apparently, the compilation of Mr. Justice Gabriel Duvall of Maryland and the Supreme Court of the United States (see AF, xi, 125).

For convenience of identification, these lists are cited as 'Skinner' because J. S. Skinner was the editor of them. By the same citation reference is made also to Mr. Skinner's important essay on *The Horse in England and America*, first published in ATR, xiv, 134, and subsequently used as the introduction to the first American edition of *Youatt on the Horse* (Philadelphia, 1843).

[Stratton] *The American Stud Book*. 'Published (*sic*) by Wiley J. Stratton: Washington City, 1837.'

This book is the lost pleiad of American sporting literature. Despite the statement of the title page, quoted above, there is no record

of it in the copyright lists in the Library of Congress, and there is other cumulative testimony that it was never published. The only known example is a bound set of page proofs which has survived from the library of B. Ogle Tayloe, and is now in the possession of his grandson, E. D. Tayloe at Edgehill in Albemarle.

Mr. John L. O'Connor has collected from the files of the various *Spirits*, a series of notices of this book and of Stratton, from which it appears that in 1837 the bruit of the intended publication aroused a lively expectation. W. T. Porter then commented on 'the zeal and extensive knowledge and materials of those who have contributed to the compilation,' and formally announced (*Old Spirit*, vi, 229) that the book was to appear 'in the ensuing month'; but from month to month thereafter for nearly a year (*ibid.*, vi, 328; vii, 29, 52, 180, 285) he had to report successive postponements of 'Mr. Stratton's new Stud Book.' In January, 1839, hope was revived when Porter's Washington correspondent advised his readers (*ibid.*, viii, 404) that 'Mr. Stratton is expected here [Washington] towards the close of February for the purpose of completing the publication of the American Stud Book and Turf History down to the present year [1839]'; but again nothing happened. So it was that in 1867 Wallace correctly summed up Stratton's failure with the statement, 'A certain Mr. Stafford [*sic*, thus revealing Wallace's misprint to be the source of Bruce's subsequent cryptic reference to 'Stafford's Stud Book'] of Washington, D. C., in 1837-8 went so far as to have a few of the first forms of his compilation struck off. The last that is known of his attempt was a call to breeders to send in their pedigrees.'

The terms of Porter's original announcement indicate that he knew that Stratton had substantial backing. Perhaps the hint of 'extensive knowledge and materials' was intended to suggest to the readers of the *Old Spirit* that Benjamin Ogle Tayloe of the Octagon House, Washington, was interested. That such was the fact is now evident from Mr. Tayloe's notation, upon his own set of ATR, that he was the author of the *History of the American Turf from eighty years since*, which had appeared in 1834 (ATR, vi, 87 ff.) and was now (1837) reprinted in the 'Stratton' proof sheets as an Appendix to the pedigrees.

It may be deduced from Mr. Tayloe's voluminous contributions to sporting periodicals throughout a long life that he early appreciated, and steadfastly maintained the need of an adequate American stud book. Upon the foundation of the private Mount Airy stud book, inherited from his father, he had built an ever growing structure of authenticated pedigrees and it was characteristic of him to plan to

share this treasure with others. The 'Stratton' proofs are, however, evidence only that he made these collections available to Stratton, prescribed a plan, and assumed some financial responsibility. The assumption that Mr. Tayloe was himself the compiler is negated by the suppression of the book after it had been put in print.

Despite this failure, Mr. Tayloe was not discouraged. He testified to his unsatisfied purpose by revising and bringing up to date the contribution of his own pen, which, from the first, he had contemplated including in the intended publication. Disappointment in the quest for a new and competent editor may, therefore, explain the publication in 1858 (*Porter's Spirit*, iv, 5 ff.) of this new version of 'Observer's' *History of the American Turf*. In the same sense, because he was still seeking an editor, 'Observer' agreed in 1862 to the periodical publication also of further 'extracts from an unpublished work that was begun under the supervision of the writer' (see *Wilkes' Spirit*, vi, 89, 90, 123). This 'unpublished work' is described in language which identifies it beyond peradventure as a development of the plan on which 'Stratton' had been laid out many years before; but the few 'extracts' actually published vary considerably from anything in 'Stratton.' The deduction is that 'Observer' intended to permit Wilkes to publish a MS. of his own compiling; i. e., the MS. referred to by Wallace in 1867, as follows:

'That distinguished and venerable gentleman, Benjamin Ogle Tayloe, who has been recognised for more than a quarter of a century, over the signature of 'Observer,' as the highest authority on all topics connected with the blood horse, commenced and prosecuted the work [of compiling a stud book] to a considerable extent. Being called abroad, he placed the unfinished manuscript in the hands of the late Wm. T. Porter, Esq. After Mr. Porter's death [in 1858] he kindly offered the manuscript to me [Wallace] if I would complete it, and gave me an order for it where ever I could find it. Mr. Porter's friends assured me the manuscript had been handed over to the late Henry William Herbert, who was then also dead [i. e., the lamented 'Frank Forester' whose tragic death also occurred in 1858]; but diligent search among the friends and effects of these gentlemen failed to get any trace of the lost manuscript.'

The loss of Mr. Tayloe's MS., followed by his own death (in 1868) closed this curious chapter of sporting bibliography. That Mr. Tayloe's book never appeared was in a very real sense a loss to all horsemen; for any book to which he might have given his imprimatur must have been first rate.

For a note on B. O. Tayloe, see *post* under 'Tayloe's Childers.'

Wiley J. Stratton, of Salem, Botetourt [now Roanoke] county, Virginia, belonged to a James River family of which there are post-revolutionary records from 1783 to 1799 in Chesterfield, Powhatan, Amherst, and Bedford. His father was Henry Stratton, an officer of the Virginia navy during the American Revolution, whose will was proved in Bedford County in 1799; and he married a sister of Alexander White of Bedford, of a family of horsemen (See Edgar's certificates for White's Dabster). As a horseman, Wiley's *floruit* was in Washington, D. C., 1834-38, where he is recorded in the contemporary sporting press in several capacities: a daring steeplechase rider (ATR, vi, 154); the owner of Morris (by American Eclipse out of John Randolph's Grand Duchess, ATR, viii, 137, 139); and Secretary of the National Jockey Club (*Racing Calendars*, 1835-36). The last such notice of him is a news item in October, 1840, to the effect that he had disposed of his interest in the Beechland course at Maysville, Kentucky (*Old Spirit*, Oct. 17, 1840). The Botetourt county records show that he was still living, a property owner in Salem, in 1852.

[Forester] *Frank Forester's Horse and Horsemanship of the United States* . . . [by Henry William Herbert]. Original edition, New York, 1857; Revised edition, S. D. & B. G. Bruce, New York, 1871.

This familiar and still delightful treatise is here significant because of its convenient collection, largely from ATR, of lore about the early imported horses; and, incidentally, for its engraved portraits of the great American horses of the early nineteenth century.

[Wallace] *Wallace's American Stud Book* . . . by J. H. Wallace: New York, 1867.

This compiler, who dates his Introduction at Muscatine, Iowa, was unfortunate in that his stud book was superseded almost immediately after publication by that of S. D. Bruce. If Wallace's pedigrees are no longer significant, his Introduction above referred to is still interesting. We have already cited the comments therein upon Edgar, Stratton, and B. O. Tayloe.

[Bruce] *The American Stud Book*, by S. D. Bruce, editor of *Turf, Field and Farm*. Two volumes: Chicago, 1868-1873.

The Thoroughbred Horse . . . by S. D. Bruce, author of the *American Stud Book*, New York, 1892.

The author says of the studies which produced these books, so frequently here cited, that the 'great labor of his life [among horse pedigrees] was the labor of Sisyphus,' because the material had to be incessantly worked over. The effort was justified, for, after nearly sixty years, Bruce is still standard. That statement does not, however, imply infallibility. Genealogy has never yet been established as an exact science, and Bruce was, after all, a genealogist. Reasoned criticism (e. g., by Thomas B. Merry in his book, *The American Thoroughbred*, Los Angeles, 1905) of some of the pedigrees of early nineteenth century horses, for which Bruce vouched, has demonstrated that horses, like men, may experience an embellishment of pedigree after they attain greatness.

[Stanard] *Racing in Colonial Virginia*, by W. G. Stanard, in *Virginia Historical Magazine*, ii (1895), 293.

[P. A. Bruce] *Social Life in Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*: Chapter seventeen, 'Horse Racing,' by Philip Alexander Bruce (1907). Second edition revised and enlarged: Lynchburg, 1927.

These two special studies, both based on county court records of litigation arising out of early horse racing, are invaluable because they array curious source material for Virginia.

They are supplemented, with the records of the earliest sporting relations between Virginia and Maryland, by

[Culver] *Blooded Horses of Colonial Days*, by Francis Barnum Culver: Baltimore, 1922.

Of the modern historical studies of the thoroughbred horse in America, which draw on Virginia material the best, are

[Trevathan] *The American Thoroughbred*, by Charles E. Trevathan: New York, 1905.

[Anderson] *Making the American Thoroughbred, especially in Tennessee, 1800-1845*, by James Douglas Anderson: Norwood, Mass., 1916.

Finally, for the benefit of some of those who have occasion to explore that vast forest, the general bibliography of the horse, it may be convenient to record here that there are two available guides, who may save hours of sterile wandering, viz:

F. H. Huth, *A Bibliographic Record of Hippology*: London, 1887.

Burchard von Oettingen, *Horse Breeding in theory and practice*. Translated from the German: London, 1909.

Taken together, these two books array the literature of the horse, in all languages and all ages, from the fragments of Kimon of Athens down to Bruce Lowe. One who notes their deficiencies in Americana, as an evidence of lack of the sense of humor, may be comforted by observing also that neither of these authorities enters that curious book which the present Prince of Wales is said to have found listed in the catalogue of his grandfather's library in Marlborough House: *Lady Godiva on the Horse*.

ILLUSTRATIONS

CLOSELY as eighteenth century Virginians observed the English standards of the Turf, they failed to follow one important precedent in that they did not have portraits painted of their horses; unless the horse in the background of the portrait of William Byrd III, herein reproduced, was intended for his Tryall or his Valiant. Moreover, diligent search fails to disclose that any of the importations to Virginia prior to the Revolution left portraits behind them in England. In this lack the Virginia horses of the ante-Revolution period are here illustrated by portraits of some of their immediate ancestors. The portraits selected were all, with one exception (Sartorius' familiar 'Darley Arabian'), painted from life.

Of the English horses imported to Virginia immediately after the Revolution, two, both Derby winners, left noble portraits in England, namely, Diomed (painted by Stubbs, now in the possession of William Woodward, Esq., of New York) and Saltram (painted by Gerrard, now at Windsor Castle). The often reproduced series of portraits of old time Virginia horses is altogether post-Revolutionary, and begins with that of Diomed's son, Sir Archy (1805-1833), by Alvan Fisher (1792-1863).

Old Crab (1722-1750)

Frontispiece.

From a print in the collection of Harry Worcester Smith, Lordvale, after the portrait by James Seymour (1702-1752).

Old Crab was by Alcock's Arabian (GSB, i, 32), but his likeness to his maternal grandsire Basto (whose portrait, also by Seymour, is reproduced in Taunton's *Portraits of Race Horses*, 1887) indicates that Crab was an illustrative type of the immediate descendants of the Byerly Turk. Crab's interest here is that he is conspicuous in the pedigrees of nine of the early importations to Virginia (Mr. Routh's Crab, Sober John, Valiant, Ranter, Aristotle, Bucephalus, Merry Tom, Oscar, Blossom). As he was a notably prepotent sire, we may fairly assume that his rugged conformation was passed on to some of his descendants in America.

Mare and foal

[Vignette on title page]

From a gold coin of Larissa, B. C. 400.

George I at Newmarket, 1722

[facing p. 43]

From the reproduction, in W. S. Sparrow's British Sporting Artists, of the painting by Peter Tillemans (1680-1734).

It is fair to assume that John Carter, Ralph Wormeley, John Tayloe II, Mordecai Booth, John Baylor and other Virginians, in England for education or on business during the second and third decades of the eighteenth century, may have witnessed scenes such as that here depicted and derived from them their inspiration to import the earliest English blood horses into the colony.

Mr. Sparrow's description of this interesting picture is as follows:

'We see George the First at Newmarket in 1722, just five years before his death. Behind, on our left, the Lifeguards are in attendance. On our right, close by the print's margin, are two figures on horseback; the nearer one in a greyish white coat is Tregonwell Frampton, Father of the English Turf. The nearest string of horses belongs to the Duke of Devonshire; its leader is Flying Childers. The other horses on Warren Hill are portraits also, but I cannot find out their names. One of the greys is the bloody-shouldered Arabian, probably. As for the equestrian portraits, only three are known by name, I believe. George the First wears a grey-yellow coat, and on his off side is the Earl of Portmore in rose, with his hat doffed. There are two more hatless figures in this group. The one in white is the Duke on Devonshire, while the other in blue on a dark brown horse, with his back to us, is the German interpreter, for the King's English needed help. For the rest, Ely Cathedral is to be seen dimly in the far distance on our right; and in the middle distance, on the dark outline of Warren Hill, an inch from the print's right-hand margin, we note The King's Chair, from which Charles the Second from time to time watched famous horses taking their daily exercise.'

The Byerly 'Turk' (fl. 1686-1700)

[facing p. 48]

From the reproduction, in Sir T. Cook's History of the English Turf, of a contemporary drawing, artist unknown.

This foundation sire, apparently a barb, is called a 'Turk' because he was captured from the Turks at the surrender of Buda (1686). The classical notice of him (GSB, i, 389) is as follows:

'The Byerly Turk, was Captain Byerly's charger in Ireland, in King William's wars (1689, etc.). He did not cover many bred mares, but was the sire of Jigg; the Duke of Kingston's Sprite, who was thought nearly as good as Leedes; the Duke of Rutland's Black Hearty and Archer; the Duke of Devonshire's Basto; Lord Bristol's Grasshopper; and Lord Godolphin's Byerly Gelding, all in good forms; Halloway's Jigg, a middling horse; and Knightley's Mare, in a very good form; and Bowes' Mare.'

He was represented in Virginia by descendants of his sons, Jigg and Basto, principally through Mr. Crofts' stock.

The Darley Arabian (fl. 1706-1715) [facing p. 52]

From the familiar print after the painting by J. N. Sartorius (1755-1828).

The classical notice of this foundation sire (GSB, i, 391) is as follows:

'Darley's Arabian, probably a Turk or Syrian horse, was brought over from Smyrna by a brother of Mr. Darley, of Yorkshire, who being an agent in merchandize abroad, became member of a hunting club, by which means he acquired interest to procure this horse. He was sire of Childers and also got Almanzor, a very good horse, and Aleppo his brother; also a white-legged horse of the Duke of Somerset's, full brother to Almanzor, and thought to be as good, but, meeting with an accident, he never ran in public; Cupid and Brisk, good horses; Daedalus, a very fleet horse; Dart, Skipjack, and Manica, good Plate horses, though out of bad mares; Lord Lonsdale's Mare in very good form, and Lord Tracy's Mare in a good one for Plates. He covered very few mares except Mr. Darley's, who had very few well bred besides Almanzor's dam.'

Sir T. Cook (*Eclipse and O'Kelly*, 1907) says the Darley was foaled 1702, imported into England 1706, and remains the only authentically pure bred 'Anazah' horse in GSB. 'It cannot be too often noted,' continues this authority, 'that he was a bay with a white star and four white feet, of the breed called 'Keheilan' by the Arabs. He was himself unsuccessful on the Turf, but the cross of his blood on the English and Barb horse worked a miracle. Practically every English horse distinguished on the Turf for a generation has descended from the Darley Arabian through Eclipse.'

If it cannot be proved that Bulle Rock was a son of the Darley Arabian, his blood was early represented in Virginia by crosses in the breeding of Dabster, Jolly Roger, Tayloe's Childers, Janus, Jack of Diamonds, Fearnought, Oscar and Carver; Gower's mare; Mary Grey; and Blazella.

Flying Childers (1715-1741) [facing p. 60]

From the portrait, by James Seymour (1702-1752), now in the collection of Willard S. Martin, Esqr., 'Greatwood,' Plainfield, Vermont.

The 'fleetest horse that ever was trained,' for whom the Duke of Devonshire declined his weight in crowns and half crowns, was Yorkshire bred, being by the Darley Arabian out of a Leedes mare descended from Lord Fairfax's Old Bald Peg (GSB, i, 12, 379).

In Virginia he was early represented by two grandsons and a granddaughter: Jolly Roger, by Roundhead; and Tayloe's Childers and Betty Blazella, both by Blaze.

Ralph Wormeley (1715-1790) of 'Rosegill' [facing p. 62]

From the portrait in the possession of Carter W. Wormeley, Esq., Richmond.

The importer of Jolly Roger and Mary Grey.

Crofts' Partner (1718-1747) [facing p. 64]

From a print after the portrait by James Seymour (1702-1752).

Taunton (*Famous Horses*, 1895) made the illuminating comment upon this portrait that Partner here reveals his Oriental descent in his head and his hindquarters, 'but already the forcing system shows itself in the elongation of his frame and in the strength which we express by the term bone.'

This grandson of the Byerly Turk is described as follows (GSB, i, 8, 382):

'Partner (Crofts's), bred by Mr. Pelham, 1718, by Jigg: sister to Mixbury. Partner was sire of Sedbury, Tartar, Cato, Traveller, Badger, Grisewood's Partner, Little John, Larkin's Looby, Duke of Bolton's Little John, Barforth, the Widdrington Mare, Vane's Little Partner, Parker's Lady Thigh, Grisewood's Lady Thigh, Lodge's roan mare, etc. He was a common stallion, and covered most of the best mares in the North for four years together; after that he covered few except Mr. Crofts's.

He was represented in Virginia by three sons, Morton's Traveller, Tom Jones, and (imp.) Harris' Eclipse; and by crosses in the pedigrees of other early importations: conspicuously the mare, Mary Grey.

John Tayloe (1721-1779) of Mount [facing p. 69]
Airy, second of the name.

From the portrait at Mount Airy.

William Byrd III (1728-1777) [facing p. 73]
of 'Westover'

From the portrait formerly at 'Longwood,' Clarke County, Virginia.

The Godolphin 'Arabian' (1724-1753) [facing p. 76]

After the replica of the Houghton portrait, by David Morier (1704-1770), now at Cedar Park, West River, Maryland.

The familiar depiction of the Godolphin is that of George Stubbs (1724-1806) which does not, however, purport to have been drawn from life. The Stubbs' print has never satisfied horsemen and, on behalf of the whole fraternity, recent editions of GSB (i, 392) have taken exception to it, saying:

'There is an original Portrait of this horse in Lord Cholmondeley's collection at Houghton [in Norfolk, formerly the seat of Sir Robert Walpole, the eighteenth century Prime Minister]: on comparing which with Mr. Stubbs' print of him, it will be seen that the disproportionately small limbs, as represented in the latter, do not accord with the painting.'

It is, however, apparent on comparison that the Houghton picture is the source of Stubbs' inspiration if not his copy.

Upon the Houghton portrait there is an inscription that it is 'The original picture taken at The [Gog Magog] Hills [in Cambridgeshire] by D. Murrier (*sic*), painter to H. R. H. the Duke of Cumberland.' This identifies the painter as that David Morier (1704-1770), a Swiss, who came to England in 1743 to paint royal equestrian portraits and was granted a pension by the breeder of Eclipse and Herod in order that he might paint, for his patron, the collection of horse pictures now at Cumberland Lodge, Windsor (Sparrow, *British Sporting Artists*, p. 120). Apart from being the approved portrait of the Godolphin, the Houghton picture is interesting to American horsemen because a replica of it was brought to Maryland in 1748 by Samuel Galloway of Tulip Hill, West River, Anne Arundel County, the subsequent owner of that great stake horse Selim, a grandson of both the Godolphin and Old Crab. In 1877 this picture came into the hands of Mr. John H. Wallace, and on cleaning it he found the signature, 'D. M. pinxt:' but was unable to identify the artist until, a year later, he saw the original at Houghton and read the inscription thereon. His comment was: 'It is difficult to compare two peas The paintings were the same size and the pigments used were of precisely the same shades of color and quality (*The Horse in America*, 1907, p. 77).'

The source record of the romantic history of this foundation sire is GSB, i, 392:

'The Godolphin Arabian was a brown bay, with some white on the off-heel behind. He was over 15 hands high, and his stock generally taller. Whether he was an Arabian or a Barb is a point disputed (his portrait would rather lead to the latter supposition), but his excellence as a stallion is generally admitted. It is remarkable that there is not a superior horse now on the Turf without a cross of the Godolphin Arabian, neither has there been for many years past.

'He was imported from France in 1730 by Mr. Coke [who is reputed to have bought him out of a cart in the streets of Paris for the equivalent of £3 to save him from abuse by the driver]. In 1731 he was teaser to Hobgoblin, who refusing to cover Roxana, she was put to the Arabian, and from that cover produced Lath, the first of his get. [He died] at Gogmagog, in Cambridgeshire, in the possession of Lord Godolphin, in 1753, being then supposed to be in his twenty-ninth year.'

[From the edition of 1808] The story of his playfellow, the black cat [which appears in all the pictures of the Godolphin, as the lamb does in those of Dunganmon], must not be omitted here, especially as an erroneous account has got abroad, copied from the first introduction to the present work. Instead of his grieving for the loss of the cat, she survived him, though but for a short time: she sat upon him after he was dead, in the building erected for him, and followed him to the place where he was buried, under a gateway near the running stable [at Gog Magog]; sat upon him there till he was buried; then went away and was never seen again, till found dead in the hayloft.'

The extraordinary crest of the Godolphin never fails to excite doubt in the mind of the student of his portraits, especially as that crest did not appear among his immediate descendants. It is therefore worth while to repeat here, by way of reassurance, an anecdote of John Lawrence (*History and Delineation of the Horse*, 1809, p. 275):

'A short time since, I saw at Tattersal's, a stallion belonging to the late Duke of Portland, got by some son of Eclipse, I think Volunteer, out of a hunting mare, with a crest to the full as lofty, swelling, and thick, as that of the Godolphin Arabian appears from the pencil of Stubbs; and not only so, but in the tapering of the neck, in the head, and the smallness of the muzzle, together with the general air in those parts, the horse so strongly resembled Stubbs's picture of the Arabian, that I could not help calling Mr. Tattersal and another gentleman, who instantly recognized the likeness.'

The Godolphin was early represented in Virginia by two daughters (Clarke's mare and Walker's mare); by eleven grandsons (Janus, Juniper, Buffcoat, Ranter, Fearnought, Vampire, David, Burwell's Regulus, Merry Tom, Shadow and Lofty); by four granddaughters (Brax-

ton's Kitty Fisher, Jenny Dismal, Bonny Lass, Cassandra); and by crosses in the breedings of Carlyle's Sterling, Bucephalus, Dotterel, Oscar, Fairfax's Strawberry, Dunmore's Regulus, and Carver.

The Cullen 'Arabian' (1740?-1761) [facing p. 82]

From a print after the portrait by Thomas Spencer, circa 1752.

This foundation sire is described (GSB, i, 393) as follows:

'Cullen Arabian, a brown bay (really a Barb), brought over by Mr. Mosco, from Constantine, with the Mosco Grey Arabian. They were presented to the British Consul by the Emperor of Morocco about 1745; the first was sold to Lord Cullen.'

He was represented in Virginia by three sons, Silver Eye, Jack of Diamonds, and Aristotle, and by a daughter, Duchess (alias Diamond).

Old Babraham (1740-1760) [facing p. 84]

From the reproduction, in Sir T. Cook's History of the English Turf, of the portrait, probably by David Morier (1704-1770), at Cumberland Lodge, Windsor.

This horse, by the Godolphin out of the large Hartley Mare (GSB, i, 99), was represented in Virginia by two sons, Juniper and Shadow.

Old Regulus (1739-1765) [facing p. 98]

From the reproduction, in Sir T. Cook's History of the English Turf, of the portrait, probably by David Morier (1704-1770), at Cumberland Lodge, Windsor.

Regulus was by the Godolphin out of the Bald Galloway mare Grey Robinson (GSB, i, 10). He was represented in Virginia by four sons, Fearnought, Vampire, Burwell's Regulus, and Merry Tom. Carlyle's Sterling and Lord Fairfax's Strawberry were grandsons and so, perhaps, was Lord Dunmore's Regulus. His blood in Boston and Lexington and their descendants has given glory to the American turf.

John Baylor (1705-1772) of Newmarket in Caroline. [facing p. 104]

From the portrait formerly at Newmarket in Caroline.

Lord Grosvenor's brood mares and foals at Eaton, 1760. [facing p. 135]

From a water colour, reproduced in Sparrow's British Sporting Artists, after the painting by George Stubbs, 1724-1802.

Bald Charlotte (fl. 1721-1727) [facing p. 149]

From a print after the portrait by James Seymour (1702-1752).

This chestnut daughter of Old Royal was 'thought to be the best mare in the kingdom of her time.' On the turf she won three King's plates (1726 & 1727).

She was represented in Virginia by her granddaughter, Braxton's Kitty Fisher.

John Tayloe (1771-1828) of Mount Airy, third of the name. [facing p. 165]

From the portrait by Gilbert Stuart, now at Edgehill, in Albemarle.

Importer of the blood of Eclipse, Herod and Matchem (including Castianira, the dam of Sir Archy), and the foremost figure on the Virginia Turf, after the Revolution.

General Lee on Traveller [facing p. 172]

From the familiar photograph by Miley, taken at Lexington, probably in 1867.

THE EQUINE F. F. Vs.

CHAPTER ONE

The Virginia Horse Before 1730

THE inauguration of the importation of English horses into Virginia was not auspicious. The 'six mares and a horse' which arrived with the 'third supply' in August, 1610, were ignominiously eaten by the planters during the 'starving time' of the following winter.¹ The stock was, however, immediately renewed. In the spring of 1611 Sir Thomas Dale brought with him 'seventeen horses and mares;' and in 1614 Samuel Argall brought more from his sack of Port Royal.² Again, in 1620, the Virginia Company sent out 'twenty mares.'

Upon this foundation breeding began; but until the middle of the century the increase seems to have been slow. Thus, in 1626 Sir Francis Wyatt reported that there were not enough horses in the colony to undertake the manufacture of pitch and tar, scarcely enough for military purposes.³ Renewed efforts were therefore made to increase the stock: in 1639 Thomas Stegg was encouraged to import horses and mares,⁴ and in 1643 the Assembly gave special privileges to 'breeders of

¹ Gabriel Archer's letter from Jamestown, August 31, 1609 (Brown, *Genesis*, i, 328), reporting on the voyage of the Third Supply says that the fleet sailed from Woolwich, May 15th, put in at Plymouth, May 20th, and 'here we took into the *Blessing* (being the ship wherein I went) sixe mares and two Horses.' Capt. John Smith's testimony (*Works*, ed. Arber, ii, 613) that at his departure for England at the ensuing Michaelmas he left 'six mares and a horse (*sic*)' in the country proves that they duly reached Virginia. Lord Delaware's report of July 7, 1610 (Brown, *Genesis*, i, 402, 408), testifies to their fate: 'our horses and mares they had eaten with the first [of the live stock].'

² Dale's report of May 25, 1611 (Brown, *Genesis*, i, 488), rehearses simply that he brought 'cattle,' but he adds that he at once built 'a stable for our horses.' The number appears from the statement of John Clark, the Virginian prisoner taken by the Spaniards sent from Havana in the summer of 1611 to spy out the Jamestown colony (*ibid*, i, 511).

³ Brown, *Genesis*, ii, 720, 727, 742.

⁴ Force's *Tracts*, iii, No. 5.

⁵ *Va. Mag.*, ii, 52.

⁶ *Acts P. C.*, Colonial, i, 277.

horses, mares and sheep." Nevertheless, in 1649, when we have a statistic, there were no more than two hundred horses and mares in the colony.⁸ Thereafter, however, the increment was rapid and the evidence is that by 1668 a native breed was firmly established. Indeed, the Virginia horse was now multiplying so rapidly that the Assembly repealed its prohibition of export, giving as their justification that 'the numerous increase of horses [is] now rather growing burthensome than any way advantageous to the country.'⁹

There is no description of the historically eocene horses; but we may safely assume that, if not 'rouncies'¹⁰ or 'stots' such as the Canterbury pilgrims rode, they were average English saddle horses of the age before the general dissemination of 'Arabian' blood; characteristically cold blooded, and having in their veins, as Sir Walter Gilbey has shown, more of the medieval 'great horse' than of the occasional barbs which had been brought to England from the earliest historical times. Indeed, Hugh Jones' testimony that the Virginia horse of the early years of the eighteenth century 'will pace naturally and pleasantly at a prodigious rate,' seems to bring the immigrant ancestor of that horse squarely within William Harrison's classical description of the English equivalent in Shakespeare's time:¹¹

'Our horses moreover are high, and although not commonlie of such huge greatness as in other places of the maine: yet if you respect the easiness of their pase it is hard to say where their like are to be had . . . Such as serve for the saddle are commonly gelded and now growne to be very deere among us, especially if they be well coloured, justly

⁷ Hening, i, 268.

⁸ Force's *Tracts*, ii, No. 8.

⁹ Hening, ii, 267, 271. Dr. P. A. Bruce's evidence of numbers (*Economic History*, i, 374, 475) drawn from contemporary inventories and other county court records fully bears out the Assembly's recital of 1669.

¹⁰ Don Quixote's Rosinante was a rouncy. See OED, s. v.

¹¹ William Harrison, *Description of England* (1577), printed in Holinshed (1807), i, 370. Shakespeare may have had this description in mind in his evocation of the horse in *Henry V*: 'he trots the air, the earth sings when he touches it.'

limbed and have thereto an easy ambling pase. For our countymen seeking their ease in every corner where it is to be had, delight verie much in these qualities, but chiefly in their excellent pases; which besides that it is in maner peculiar unto horses of our Soile and not hurtful to the rider or owner sitting on their backes: it is moreover verie pleasant and delectable in his eares in that the noise of their well proportioned pase doth yield comfortable sound as he travelleth by the waie.'

If the English horse introduced into Virginia in 1611 was 'high' like his Elizabethan forbear, he did not remain so. Something happened at the end of his first half century in America to reduce materially his size. The available evidence for this change is, however, accompanied by contemporary testimony that he did not degenerate in quality; in fact he seems to have improved in quality, an apparent contradiction which propounds a curious problem.

We may perhaps discount as propaganda the claim published by the Virginia Company in 1620¹² that the sea change made the horses they had exported 'more beautiful and fuller of courage;' but that claim is followed by a series of convincing seventeenth century testimonies that the English horse did not degenerate in America. Thus, in 1649, the author of the *Perfect Description of Virginia*¹³ says the horses were 'of an excellent raise [race]'; and in 1676 Thomas Glover¹⁴ asserts them to be 'as good as we have in England.' A little later (1686) the author of the *Voyages d'un Francois*¹⁵ says:

'I do not believe there are better horses in the world, or worse treated. All the care they take of them at the end of a

¹² Force's *Tracts*, iii, No. 5.

¹³ Force's *Tracts*, ii, No. 8.

¹⁴ Thomas Glover, *An Account of Virginia*, communicated to the Royal Society in 1676 (Blackwell's reprint, Oxford, 1904).

¹⁵ *A Frenchman in Virginia*, 1686, Richmond, 1923. Compare with this observation that seventeenth century Virginians did not care for their horses, the change in that respect resulting from the later introduction of the bred horse, as reflected by the remark of J. D. F. Smyth in 1772: 'The Virginians of all ranks and denominations are excessively fond of horses . . . even the most indigent person has his saddle horse . . . In short their horses are their pleasure and their pride.'

journey is to unsaddle, feed a little Indian corn and so, all covered with sweat, drive them out into the woods, where they eat what they can find, even though it is freezing.'

Again, the John Clayton who was parson of Jamestown at the time our Frenchman made his observation, bore similar witness in the letter he wrote to the Royal Society in 1688:¹⁶

'There are good store of Horses, though they are very negligent and careless about the breed. It is true there is a law that no Horse shall be kept stoned under a certain size, but it is not put in Execution. Such as they are there are good stock, and as cheap or cheaper than in England, worth about five pounds apiece. They never shoe them nor stable them in general: some few Gentlemen may be something more curious but it is very rare: yet they ride pretty sharply, a Planter's Pace is a Proverb, which is a good sharp hand gallop.'

And finally, and most important of all, there is the act of Assembly of 1686.¹⁷ Reciting that

'Forasmuch as the breed of large and strong horses in this country will not only extend to the great help and defence of the same but also prove of great use and advantage to the inhabitants thereof, which [breed] now is much decayed and impaired by small ston'd horses of low stature not only suffered to pasture and feed in our woods and other waste grounds, but also to cover and leap mares feeding there, whereof cometh a numerous breed to the little profit but great damage of this country;'

this legislation forbade the planter to turn into the woods 'any ston'd horse two years old or more and *under thirteen and one-half hands*.' This was the act which Clayton declared inoperative. It remains of interest, nevertheless, because of the strong light it throws on the Virginia horse at the end of the seventeenth century. By enabling us to compare him with the English horse of the sixteenth century (for this legislation of 1686 took the form of reversion to an equally futile act (1541) of Henry

¹⁶ Force's *Tracts*, iii, No. 12.

¹⁷ Hening, iii, 35; revised 1713 (*ibid.*, iv, 48) and 1792 (Shepherd, i, 162).

VIII, which is cited in all historical studies of the English horse, the essential difference being that the minimum Tudor standard was *fifteen hands*, it reveals him in a process of transformation.

In the eighteenth century the evidence is to the same effect. In 1713 the act of 1686 was revised and reenacted and thereafter the standard of thirteen and a half hands was carried forward in the Revisals of 1733, 1752 and 1769; to be dropped only in 1792 when, at last, it had become a relic of antiquity. This legislative standard could not have so persisted except for the continued presence in the colony of many small but highly esteemed horses. That they were esteemed we know because Hugh Jones assures us in 1722 that 'the saddle horses, though not very large, are hardy, strong and fleet;' and William Byrd commends them in his *History of the Dividing Line* (1728) as peculiarly suited for 'a long ramble into the woods,' saying 'they are us'd to precipices and will bite as close as Down sheep.' That they were small the *Virginia Gazette* bears witness, when, after 1736, it supplemented the door of the 'ordinary' as the place for posting public notices and its pages teem with advertisements of strayed horses, quite generally described as 13½ hands, sometimes less, and only occasionally 14 hands in height.

On this record we can conjure up a vision of the mounts which bore Spotswood and the Knights of the Golden Horse Shoe in 1716; we can appreciate the 'cocktail' who inaugurated the Virginia practice of the quarter race; the 'galloway' for whom allowance of weight was made in the programmes of the earliest subscription race meets; the 'old field pony' which the Old Virginia Gentleman of the nineteenth century used to mate with a blood horse to get what he deemed the best pad on which to make his daily plantation rounds; and, finally, the Chincoteague pony.¹⁸

¹⁸ For the old field pony and the cocktail quarter horse see ATR, v, 131, 447. 'Frank Forester' uses the term 'cocktail' as current in Yorkshire in his youth with a significance equivalent to 'half bred.' Youatt defines a galloway as a horse between thirteen and fourteen hands. For the Chincoteague pony, see Appendix A.

It will not suffice to explain away the problem those small horses propound on a theory of degeneration of the size of the English horse in Virginia. All the neglect and underfeeding upon which the Frenchman animadverted, all the casual mis-mating against which the Assembly thundered, would not account for a reduction of average size of six inches in fifty years. Seeking an explanation, we conjecture that the act of 1686 voiced an English prejudice in favor of the pure English horse then seen to be in process of modification; and that Clayton's observation that the late seventeenth century Virginians were 'very negligent and careless about the breed' was of the same tenor. In fine, we believe that the admirable little Virginia horse, which Spotswood, Hugh Jones and William Byrd rode and which the later advertisements reveal as having an invincible objection to confinement, was not so much a degenerate descendant of the first horses imported from England as the native product of an unrecorded practice of crossing the English horse with a remote infusion of Andalusian blood, derived from the southern indians. This hypothesis would account not only for the sudden increment of Virginia's stock of horses about 1668, but also for the consequent combination of spirit and small size in the individual.¹⁹

¹⁹ *Was the original Virginia horse crossed with indian pony blood?*: There is no evidence that the Virginia indians had horses when the Jamestown colony first came into contact with them; on the contrary, John Clayton (Force's *Tracts*, iii, No. 12) testified in 1688 that they had had none until his time. But there is ample evidence that the southern indians did have horses throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They were domesticated descendants of feral Andalusian barbs brought to America by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century. James Adair, who lived as an indian agent among the Cherokees, the Chickasaws and Choctaws for forty years prior to 1765, testifies in his *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775) directly to the point. He said (pp. 230-231) that 'almost every one hath horses, from two to a dozen, which makes a considerable number through their various nations. The Cheerake had a prodigious number of excellent horses . . . they are skilful jockies and nice in their choice;' and he describes these horses as 'commonly of a good size, well made, hard-hoofed, handsome, strong and fit for the saddle or draught: but a person runs too great a risk to buy any to take them out of the country, because every spring season most of them make for their native range.' Again, William Bartram is a convincing witness in his *Travels through . . . Carolina, Georgia . . . Florida, etc.* (Philadelphia, 1791). He says: 'The Siminole horses . . . are the most beautiful and sprightly

species of that noble creature perhaps any where to be seen: but are of a small breed, and as delicately formed as the American roe buck. A horse in the Creek or Muscogalge tongue is *echoclucco*, that is the great deer (echo is a deer and clucco is big). The Seminole horses are said to descend originally from the Andalusian breed brought here by the Spaniards when they first established the colony of East Florida. From the forehead to their nose is a little arched or aquiline, and so are the fine Choctaw horses among the Upper Creeks which are said to have been brought thither from New Mexico across the Mississippi by those nations of indians who emigrated from the west beyond the river. These horses are every way like the Seminole breed, only being larger and perhaps not so lively and capricious.'

Notwithstanding the *animus revertendi* to which Adair calls attention, the evidence that the Carolinians early acquired and used these horses is explicit. Dr. David Ramsay (*History of South Carolina*, Charleston, 1809, ii, 403) says: 'Before the year 1754 the best horses for the draft or saddle in Carolina were called the Chickasaw breed. These were originally introduced by the Spaniards into Florida and in the course of time had astonishingly increased. Great numbers ranged wild in and near the Apalache old field. Many of them were caught and tamed by the indians and sold to the traders. They made use of them for pack horses to bring their peltry to market and afterwards sold them in the low country. These horses in general were handsome, active and hardy, but small; seldom exceeding thirteen hands and a half in height. The mares in particular, when crossed with English blooded horses, produced colts of great beauty, strength and swiftness.'

There is no such tradition that these indian horses were also introduced into Virginia, but the probability that they were is strong. As early as 1651 Edward Bland and Rice, Hooe opened from Fort Henry (the later Petersburg) the Occaneechi trading path in order to traffic with the southern indians for skins (See Bland's *Discoverie of New Brittain*, 1651, reproduced in Salley's *Narratives of Early Carolina*, and elsewhere) and thereafter Abraham Wood and the first William Byrd developed this trade, gradually extending it to the Cherokees west of the mountains. The acts of 1757 and 1765 (Hening, vii, 116; viii, 114) show how intimate were the resulting relations with the Cherokees. If the Carolinians acquired indian ponies to pack home their skins in a similar trade, *non constat* the Virginians did also. Indeed, a letter by William Byrd to his London correspondents, Messrs. Perry & Lane, of May 10, 1686 (*Va. Mag.*, xxv, 51), seems to carry a necessary implication that they were doing this at the very moment when Virginia's horse stock suddenly expanded. 'My traders,' he said, 'have all mett ill successe: two of y^m I hear are kill'd above 400 miles off, & the rest have lost all their Horses & [were] forced to leave their goods abroad: hope within this fortnight they will bring y^m in.' If Byrd did not expect these traders to acquire indian ponies to replace the horses they had lost, how could he have hoped they would bring in their goods. Again, after the Carolina road had been opened through Virginia from the Potomac across the Roanoke, and had become frequented in inter-colonial trade, there is the same implication in the recital of an act of 1742 (Hening, v, 176) that 'various vagrant people travel through this colony . . . peddling and selling horses.'

CHAPTER TWO

The Introduction of the English Bred-Horse

HOWEVER attained, such was the status of the Virginia horse when the enactment and enforcement of Governor Gooch's tobacco inspection law of 1730 inaugurated in the colony an era of prosperity and consequent extravagance, the like of which had never been known before.²⁰ It was in that period that the local magnates prepared to abandon their plantation houses, erected 'after the Virginia manner of building' defined in the statutes, of which Tuckahoe survives as a type, and to construct mansion houses in the English tradition, such as Westover and Mount Airy; to import and use 'chariots' for occasions of ceremony; to drink madeira as well as bumbo; to ride formally to hounds; and to keep horses for racing only. The surviving county records show, indeed, that the fathers and grandfathers of these men had been wont to match their speedy riding nags far back in the seventeenth century, and had claimed a caste privilege in doing so,²¹ but those banters were quite different things from the organized subscription race meets for which advertisements begin to appear in the seventeen forties.²² Again, it was in 1739 that John Clayton,

²⁰ The comments upon the extravagance of this time by some of the Scottish merchants who then swarmed in Virginia and batted upon the propensity of many of the planters to spend their tobacco as fast as they made it, were frank and illuminating. See the letters of Francis Jerdone and George Hume, particularly, *W. & M. Quar.*, xi, 241; *Va. Mag.*, xx, 413.

²¹ See Dr. Stanard's curious treasure trove on this subject in *Va. Mag.*, ii, 293; 'especially the quotation of an order of York court of 1674 holding it to be 'contrary to Law for a Labourer to make a race, being a sport only for Gentlemen.' With this should be read the provision of the act of 1713 already cited (Hening, iv, 48) prohibiting landless men from keeping breeding horses or mares, and limiting overseers to one riding nag.

²² *The Development of distance racing in the Rappahannock Valley*: The seventeenth century races, for which Drs. Stanard and P. A. Bruce array the evidence, were all 'quarter races,' a form of sport not recorded in the Tidewater after 1739, though it survived the Revolution in the Southside (see the notice of Janus, *post*). The races at the Williamsburg fair in 1739 are the earliest testimony for a change,

the botanist, affords the earliest evidence of the naturalization of classical fox hunting in the same region: 'Some here hunt foxes with hounds,' he wrote from Gloucester, 'as you do in England.'²⁸

It is not surprising then, to find that the improvement of the Virginia horse dates from that same period. From England had come across the Atlantic a bruit of the magic accomplished on the turf by hot blood from the Levant. The name of Flying Childers, 'the fleetest horse ever known,' was already on the Virginia sportsman's lips. The fame of his sire, the Darley Arabian, and of the get of the 'Turk' Capt. Byerly had ridden at the battle of the Boyne was becoming the gossip of negro grooms. The Virginians who were now indulging in other luxuries naturally craved the new race horse also. It is therefore more than a coincidence that the year 1730, in which Gooch's tobacco law laid the foundation of Virginia's high era of colonial prosperity, was also the year in which Bulle Rock is recorded to have brought to Virginia a combination of the blood of the Darley Arabian and the Byerly Turk. Virginia writers in the *American Turf Register* later took pride, too, in the fact that this year of her reputed introduction of Arabian blood was also the year in which the Godolphin barb reached England; and that the 'first foal' (See Clarke's mare *post*) of that great sire was imported in 1733. Those claims were deemed to be badges of a civilization.

being 'round the mile course.' It was, however, in the Rappahannock valley (Gloucester, Leedstown and Fredericksburg) that distance racing found its full development at subscription meets. Thus at Gloucester in 1740 and at Leedstown in 1746 and 1751 the test was of 'the best of three four-mile heats.' As the weight stipulated was uniformly ten stone these advertisements are convincing evidence of the improved bottom, as well as blood, of the race horse in that region. Bottom was something the cocktail quarter horse never had, for all his sprinting speed; as J. D. F. Smyth, who knew horses, testified.

²⁸ *Va. Mag.*, vii, 172. The surviving testimony for fox hunting in the English convention at this time, like that for subscription racing, all comes from the Middle Neck and the Northern Neck. See M. N. Stanard, *Colonial Virginia* (1917), p. 259. To measure the advance in civilization implicit in this it is only necessary to read Beverley's description of the degrading sport of coursing and pitting horses in the woods, as practised in the same region before 1705.

Although the breeding of Bulle Rock remains mythological, we know certainly that by 1750 and ensuing years he was followed to Virginia by Jolly Roger, Morton's Traveller and Booth's Janus. The authenticated blood strains of those notable horses were in process of wide distribution when the outbreak of the Seven Years War, of which Virginia herself lit the torch, made them the principal breeding reliance of a community which had meanwhile developed an appetite for distance racing; and thus assured the success of their importers' investments. That success, as well as the recognised quality of the get of these imported horses, had the effect of stimulating further importations as soon as French privateers disappeared from the ocean sea. And so it was that at once upon the ratification of the treaty of Paris a new and quite astonishing era of horse breeding began in Virginia. Then came Fear-nought and other grandsons of the Godolphin, and thenceforth the advertisements show a steadily increasing infusion of the best race horse blood imported year by year until the Association of 1770 imposed a self-denying ordinance which, in this respect, was effective until after the Revolution.²⁴

The influence of these importations was not merely to improve the race horse; they were marvelously tonic also upon the general standard of the Virginia horse. From having been a spirited pony, he now became a respectable cavalry remount. Skinner was doubtless justified in translating the testimony of Light Horse Harry Lee, that he mounted the dragoons of his 'Legion' on Virginia horses, into a paean to imported blood:

²⁴ The Association adopted by the Burgesses, merchants and others at Williamsburg, June 22, 1770 (*Journals H. B.*, 1770-72, p. xxvii), by which the subscribers bound themselves not to import certain enumerated British goods in the nature of luxuries until the duty on tea, etc., should be repealed, specifically mentioned horses. Among the original subscribers were several horse breeders, owners of the conspicuous English horses then in the colony, viz: James Balfour, John Banister, John Bland, Neill Buchanan, Lewis Burwell, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson, Jr., Thomas Mann Randolph, Archibald Ritchie and Meriwether Smith. While it does not seem that this Association was generally effective, it is significant that the record of horses imported between 1770 and 1776 is limited to three; the date for one being uncertain, and the other two being the importations by Lord Dunmore and Lord Fairfax, each of whom doubtless intended to set an example.

'While every one at all familiar with the incidents of our Revolution,' he says, 'knows how much was effected in the South, by Lee's famous 'Legion;' few, comparatively, may be aware to what that celebrated corps chiefly owed its efficiency—and yet it is undeniable that in a great measure the prevalence of blood in his horses made it at once the scourge and terror of the enemy. Wonderful in their endurance of hunger, thirst, and fatigue; prompt to strike a blow where it was least expected; and, when forced, quick to retreat.'²⁸

All those who, despite the convenience of the motor car and the civilizing labours of the State Highway Commission, still use and cherish the Virginia bred horse, whether they ride steeplechases or merely practise hill topping to hark to the sweet music of a pack of hounds in full cry, must echo the sentiment which prompted this evocation. But the fact which underlies it, namely, that the breed of the horse which served our ancestors at Jamestown was preserved and regenerated for our use today by the timely infusion of new blood, warrants a detailed examination of the activities of those who wrought the miracle.

We have accordingly arrayed, chronologically, the testimonies for the thirty-eight most noted English horses and twenty-one mares imported into Virginia before the Revolution. Moreover, so far as diligence and ingenuity availed, we have added (what no stud book supplies) an identification of the importers and of subsequent owners.

By way of introduction to these records, several generalizations deduced from them are ventured. It will be noted that before the Seven Years War, and again after 1763, the importation of horses and mares to Virginia was almost exclusively to the Rappahannock valley; including in that geographical description the counties of the Middle neck, which

²⁸ With this may be compared the remark of John Lawrence (*The History and Delineation of the Horse*, 1809) that 'United America has a breed descended from our own. In the time of the war some British officers, my old friends, who served there reported the American Horses to me, as generally a light kind of cat-hammed half bred, deficient in size and substance.'

were subject to the same social influences. But about 1768 the centre of horse breeding shifted to the James River valley and centered for a time on the mouth of the Appomattox. The indication of this change was not so much in the importations direct to that region, though there were several (including conspicuously those of the third William Byrd of Westover) as in the fact that, trailing clouds of glory, Jolly Roger, Janus and Fearnought then successively migrated, to end their careers in the Southside.

Again, it may be noted that of the fifty-nine individuals here listed, only twenty-two, or say one in three, have been identified in GSB. Considering the history of GSB, inaugurated in 1791 after all this stock had left England, and never purporting to be exhaustive, as Mr. Prior has shown, the failure to find official English records for the others is rather an inconvenience than an impeachment of their legitimacy: it means merely that no general census was contemporaneously kept of the matings of eighteenth century horses, such as is kept today in both England and America.

The argument on this point of a recent correspondent of the *Thoroughbred Record* (1927, cvi, 263) is judicious:

‘Mankato’ and others maintain that quite a number of pedigrees in the first three volumes of the American Stud Book are wrong, specially so of imported stock, because links with the entries in the General Stud Book are missing; but what unbiased person will ever be able to prove that the entries in the General Stud Book are exhaustively correct and that the papers and pedigrees which accompanied the horses sent to America in the last half of the 18th century, were erroneously and falsely made out? Is it not more plausible, not to say logical, to assume that the records compiled in those times by British breeders from their own private stud books and handed over to the American buyers, deserve more credit for correctness than the official records which rested on what the keepers of the various English Stud Registers considered acceptable, or not, amidst the welter of contradictory evidence?’

Taking, then, the traditional breeding as correct in every case for which we have contemporary evidence, it will be further

noted that J. F. D. Smyth²⁶ knew what he was talking about when he made his sympathetic observation on Virginia horses in 1772 and commented:

'The stock is from old Cade, old Crab, old Partner, Regulus, Babraham, Bosphorus, Devonshire Childers, the Cullen Arabian, the Cumberland Arabian, and a horse from Arabia named Bellsizes which was imported into America [i. e., to Philadelphia] and is now [1772] in existence.'

As these hallowed names are perhaps no longer familiar except to the antiquarian horseman, it will better carry home the significance of the horses here considered to interpret their breeding in terms of descent from the three accepted 'corner stones' of the thoroughbred horse, the Byerly Turk, the Darley Arabian and the Godolphin barb.²⁷ On that test, it appears that all but three of the horses and all but five of the mares here in question brought to Virginia the blood of one or more of the 'corner stones:' the exceptions among the horses representing other Levantine stock, namely, the Cullen, Cumberland and Bellsizes Arabians mentioned by Smyth.

Of the 'corner stone' horses, fourteen were Byerlys; eleven Godolphins; two Darleys; four a combination of Darley and Byerly; two a combination of Darley and Godolphin; and one a combination of Godolphin, Darley and Byerly. Of the 'corner stone' mares seven were Godolphins; six Darleys; and two Byerlys. Stating this another way, the reputation of Flying Childers gave predominance to Darley blood in the earliest importations; then the success on the English turf of the get of Mr. Crofts' Partner and the arrival of his son, Morton's Traveller, gave the Byerly blood a predominance in Virginia which, measured in numbers, it maintained until after the Revolution; and, finally, when Fearnought came and

²⁶ *A Tour in the United States of America* (London, 1784), i, p. 22. An interesting notice of Smyth, to whom Virginia horsemen are in debt, may be found in D. N. B., s. v. Stuart, the name he assumed in 1793 in support of his claim to a double descent from Charles II's ill-fated son, the Duke of Monmouth.

²⁷ The modern practice is to style these three families, respectively, Herod, Eclipse and Matchem, but that is not here possible because all of



THE BYERLY 'TURK' (fl. 1686-1700)

achieved, locally, his justly great reputation, there was a strong swing to Godolphin blood, which, before 1770, had nearly balanced the number of Byerlys.

our earliest Virginia 'corner stone' horses fit into their respective pedigrees in brackets antecedent to those of their three illustrious kinsmen who became the eponymous heroes.

CHAPTER THREE

Thirty-eight Pioneer Sires

LIKE Bruce Lowe's list of forty-three English 'tap root' mares, the following catalogue does not purport to be exclusive. The testimony of the earliest brackets of American horse pedigrees is that there were bred horses in Virginia before the American Revolution which are not here discussed; but the evidence for the breeding, dates and ownership of such horses is even less convincing than the arguments adduced as to some of those included in the following pages. This lack may be illustrated by the following notes, viz:

(a) *Carter's Slyboots*: This horse, reputed to have belonged to Secretary John Carter (1696-1742) of 'Corotoman' and 'Shirley', is recorded as the sire of the third dam of Careless, that son of Fearnought who is not in Bruce, but was advertised (in VG, April 12, 1776) by Peyton Randolph (1750-1784) of 'Wilton.' Slyboots appears also in the certificates (1800 & 1808) by Hugh Wylie of Charlotte County as the root of the pedigrees of the Virginia horses, Hyperion and Marske (See Edgar, pp. 262, 323). He must have been a contemporary of Bulle Rock and Dabster and 'tis pity we know nothing at all of his breeding.

(b) *Byrd's Tryall*: The first of the Virginia-Maryland intercolonial races was held at Gloucester race ground, December 5, 1752, in response to a challenge by the third William Byrd to match his 'Chestnut horse Tryall, against any that could be brought, for 500 pistoles;' when the winner was the since famous Maryland mare, Tasker's imp. Selima (MG, December 21, 1752; ATR, iv, 95; *Va. Mag.*, ii, 302; Culver, pp. 56, 114). This could not have been the Tryall by Morton's Traveller out of Betty Blazella, recorded by Edgar and Bruce (on the faith of a certificate by Col. Byrd dated 1777), because that mare was foaled in 1752, the very year of the appearance of Tryall on the Virginia turf. Mr. John L. O'Connor identifies Byrd's Tryall as an imported horse, not noted by Bruce, viz: 'ch. c. foaled 1743 known on the English turf as Prentice's Tryall.' This is borne out by a Pennsylvania advertisement (1765, April 25, PG) of Col. Byrd's Young Valiant, which describes the dam of that colt as 'got by Prentice's Tryal who

was the best horse on the Turf that ever appeared in Virginia.' See *post*, s. v. Valiant.

(c) Edgar (followed by Skinner and Bruce) lists also several later horses reputed to have been imported and to have stood in Virginia before the Revolution, viz: Brunswick, Dormouse, Granby, Hero, Jack the Batchelor, Junius, Justice, and Merry Pintle. Among them may have been the 'two valuable English Stallions' advertised for sale by the executor of John Ambler (VG, October 24, 1760) or those two may have been additions to this list. Most of these names are found several times repeated in GSB, and among them Bruce dared to identify in that source book the Dormouse and Granby here cited. Others are found in Virginia pedigrees, thereby proving no more than that there were horses of such names in the colony: they may have been native bred. There are now extant no advertisements, nor other contemporary vouchers for a colonial migration, which suffice to rescue any of these horses from the limbo of forgotten ghosts.

1730

*Bulle-Rock**Samuel Gist of Hanover*

If 'An Advocate for the Turf' (whose *Annals of the Turf* originally published in the Petersburg *Intelligencer* newspaper in 1826, were the first systematic study, and remain the purest source of our knowledge, of the bred horse in colonial Virginia) knew of Bulle Rock before 1833, he never mentioned him. Nor have we been able to find elsewhere any earlier notice of this horse than the Southside tradition preserved by Patrick Nisbett Edgar and published in his *American Race-Turf Register* (1833). There Bulle Rock seems to have made his appearance in print, as follows:

'Imported into Virginia in 1730 and foaled about the year 1718 [in a letter of 1835 to ATR, vi, 635, Edgar pushes back this date to 1707, saying that he had found a Racing Calendar showing 'Bulle Rock, b. h.' on the English turf in 1710].'

To this is appended a breeding certificate to the effect that the horse was

'Got by the Darley Arabian: Byerly Turk: Lyster Turk, out of a natural Arabian mare. (Signed) Virginia, 1735, Samuel Patton; 1736, Samuel Gist.'



THE DARLEY 'ARABIAN' (B. 1706-1715)

It may be noted that neither of the three Byerly mares in GSB (i, 5) has the breeding here assigned to Bulle Rock's dam; but, out of obvious desire to support this dazzling record, the subsequent authorities have here treated Edgar tenderly. Without stating his authority, Skinner records the horse with the Darley Arabian: Byerly Turk breeding, and gives Samuel Gist as the importer. Bruce, noting, 'We cannot find this horse; he being foaled before the issue of either the Stud Book or Racing Calendar,' also gives the same breeding.

On this testimony of a horseman's tradition, most of the discussions of the bred horse in America published since 1833, have, without criticism, hailed Bulle Rock as the first 'Arabian' horse in America. On this the Germans (See von Oettingen, *Horse Breeding in theory and practice*, English translation, 1909, p. 428) have recorded him among the sons of the Darley Arabian; but the Messrs. Weatherby have not yet given him the consecration of inclusion in GSB, for all that they have been accused (W. Allison, *The British Thoroughbred Horse*, 1907, p. 238) of undue hospitality to American horses.

For this consideration, it is to be regretted that the testimony for Bulle Rock is meagre. Trevathan evokes him as a glorious ghost. 'We know Bulle Rock only as a name,' he says, 'of his personality there is not even a shadow. He is to us now only the first race horse to come.' This is a just observation, if it is a pitiful thing to have to say of a horse reputed to be a half brother of Flying Childers.

Trevathan goes on, however, to lead us astray. He refers vaguely to 'the old advertisements in the very early Virginia papers . . . he was spoken of in the small prints of his time as being a horse of the best English (or Arabian) racing family and that it was hoped the gentlemen of Virginia would seek opportunity, through him, of improving their general stock.' This statement has verisimilitude on its face, but cannot be checked. A careful search of the earliest issues of MG (1732-34) and of VG (1736-38) draws blank; nor is there any news notice of Bulle Rock in the still earlier issues of the enterprising young Benjamin Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette*, which carry us back to the reputed importation date. And there we are left to fall back on Edgar.

Despite these uncertainties as to breeding, there was, beyond all peradventure, an imported Bulle Rock in Virginia, certainly before 1740 if not in 1730. Passing over the interesting claim of the certificate (1782) of James Montgomery that the tap-

root of his Virginia horse Serval (by Selim) was 'an imported mare, full sister to Old Bulle Rock,' that thesis finds support in the earliest bracket of no less than thirty-nine eighteenth century Virginia pedigrees, which Bruce adopted and translated from certificates collected by Edgar. These pedigrees show that fillies by Bulle Rock were mated with most of the earliest imported horses which stood in the Rappahannock valley, viz: Dabster, Routh's Crab, Monkey, Tayloe's Childers, Janus. More particularly Gower's Whitefoot mare, for which there is extant a credible certificate of importation in 1735 (see *post*), is so shown to have been mated with imp. Bulle Rock and to have produced a filly; which filly was in turn mated with imp. Dabster and produced the mare Queen of Sheba; she being entered as 'foaled 1746, bred in Eastern Virginia, and owned in 1759 by James Caruthers of Virginia.' Again, there are similar records also of two early, if undated, native bred horses, father and son, both named Bulle Rock, of which the elder is entered as got by Spark (the horse shown by Culver to have been imported into Maryland in 1747 by Samuel Ogle) out of a mare 'by imp. Bulle Rock.' And it was the younger who established in New Jersey, during the years immediately preceding the Revolution, that 'Bully Rock' cross which Mr. John L. O'Connor says 'is found in many [New Jersey] pedigrees, particularly on the dam's side, as mares by him seem to have been in demand.' (Cf. Edgar's record of a New Jersey advertisement of 1822, *s. v.* London Brown).

Quite apart from his primacy, Bulle Rock's name is interesting. It may be found in the great Oxford Dictionary, with examples of use in the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as the equivalent of 'boon companion.' Mr. Rosewell Page pleasantly points out that it is the original form of the characterization ('my Bully Rooke') applied to Sir John Falstaff by the Host of the Garter Inn, in the *Merry Wives of Windsor* (1598).

Samuel Patton, who is recorded as giving the first Virginia certificate for Bulle Rock (in 1735), has not been identified. The only Virginia name approaching it is that of the Samuel Paten named in the Westmoreland will proved in 1733 of his father, Anthony Paten; but of him nothing more is known; though his family was later established at Fredericksburg and then spelled their name Patton. One may guess, then, that the

record of 'Samuel,' attributed to Patton, is a transcriber's confusion with the Samuel of Gist, and that we have actually to do here with

James Patton (1692-1755), the Irish ship master, who is well known in Virginia history for his importation of Irish immigrants for the colonization of Augusta, and for his own eventual settlement on that frontier, where he was murdered by Indians while serving as County Lieutenant.

The basis of this conjecture is that before James Patton began his immigration activities he had been in the tobacco trade between London and Hobbes Hole [Tappahannock] in the Rappahannock (see Brock in *Dinwiddie Papers*, i, 8), and so might well have been a party to the importation of a horse.

Samuel Gist, who is reputed to have signed the Bulle Rock certificate of 1736 and was probably his first owner in Virginia, may be identified with certainty. He was a Virginia merchant in London who acquired a plantation in Hanover before 1757 (Hening, vii, 129); and resided on it for some years, being included in the quorum of the Hanover commission of the peace in 1764. At the Hanover census of 1782 he is listed with 82 slaves; and in that year the Assembly (Hening, xi, 54) vested his Virginia property in his daughter Mary, wife of William Anderson of Hanover, on the ground that Gist was a non-resident British subject. In the MSS. collection of the Virginia State Library there is a copy of Gist's will, dated in 1808 and proved in P. C. C. in 1815; in which he described himself as 'of Gower Street in the parish of St. Giles in the Fields in the county of Middlesex, Esquire' (cf. *W. & M. Quar.*, vi, 248). Here it appears that before 1808 Gist had resumed title to his Virginia property, for he directed John Wickham and Mathew Toler of Richmond to carry into effect an emancipation of his slaves. He had, meanwhile, acquired a seat, Wormington Grange, in the English shire of Gloucester, and there his descendants flourished for several generations; being listed in Burke's *Landed Gentry*.

If Bulle Rock stood in Virginia on the Hanover plantation of Samuel Gist, he adds a new citation to the distinguished record of the county which produced Patrick Henry and Henry Clay, as well as many less celebrated but more agreeable men and women (See Rosewell Page, *Hanover County: its History and Legends*, 1926).

Hanover was early full of Scots, whose traditional appetite for horse racing gave that county an early distinction in horse breeding. In the *Virginia Gazette* of 1737 (No. 62) there is the announcement of a gala organized by them for St. Andrew's day under the leadership of Augustin Graham, Clerk of Hanover. The programme included a 3 mile horse race for a prize of five pounds, and other popular contests for prizes, described as 'a hat to be cudgelld for; a violin to be played for; a Quire of ballads to be sung for; a pair of silver buckles to be wrestled for; a pair of shoes to be danced for; a pair of silk stockings for the handsomest young country maid.' This interesting gathering was held at Capt. John Bickerton's plantation and the race was won 'by a bay horse belonging to one Tyas of Caroline; but 'tis said Mr. James Littlepage [of Henrico] is to have it.' It would be a pleasure to be able to record that the winner had been got by Bulle Rock.

1741

*Dabster**James Hoskins of King and Queen*

In October, 1832, Messrs. P. & C. Foster, of 'Oakland' in Mecklenburg, wrote to ATR (iv, 157) stating that they had found, 'among the papers of a person many years dead,' the following breeding certificate:

'Dabster, imported about the year 1741, got by Hobgoblin [a grandson of the Darley]: Spanker: Hautboy. (Signed) 1744, James Haskins; 1745, Cornelius Cox; 1745, John Forster.'

The request for correction of this pedigree had no response; and, in consequence, Skinner (reflecting Advocate) lists Dabster 'pedigree unknown,' while Bruce, noting, 'We cannot find this horse,' enters the Foster breeding. Edgar adds to this the tradition of a description of the horse: 'We have heard he was a pale sorrel horse, with glass eyes, a large blaze face and all feet and legs white, with a flaxen mane and tail. He got in the general a very good stock of horses.' This last statement is borne out by many pedigrees in which Dabster appears in the earlier brackets. That his blood was esteemed appears from the reproduction of his name. Thus the hunter heading the list of George Washington's stable at Mount Vernon in 1785 (*Diaries*, ii, 439) was 'Dabster, grey, 14 1/4 hands, 8 years.'

Like the pedigree, the name of the original owner of Dabster is in doubt. No advertisements of the horse are extant to check it; nor can any James Haskins be identified to represent the reputed signature to the earliest certificate for him.

Though several horsemen are to be found among the descendants of that Edward Haskins who is listed in the Henrico quit rent roll of 1704 and thereafter in the patent books down to 1733, there is none to fit the facts as to Dabster. That these Haskins lived south of James river appears from the fact that the next three generations of them, Creed, Edward, and again Creed, are all in the Chesterfield land and military records; as also in Cumberland, where the two first named were included in the Southam vestry and also in several commissions of the peace. Again, there is no James among the Haskins found in Brunswick and Prince Edward. The two included in the Prince Edward commissions, 1766-72, were Thomas (see his unusual certificate of the breeding of his Potomac in Edgar, p. 407) and Benjamin (who died 1798, leaving descendants rehearsed in *Nottoway D. B.*, ii, 194, according to a note in Watson, *Southside Virginia*). This negative evidence against a James Haskins is enforced by the improbability of the ownership of a horse of Dabster's breeding on the Southside as early as 1741-1744, and the fact that Dabster's record in the stud is exclusively of matings with mares owned in the Rappahannock valley.

On the other hand, 'James Haskins' may have been a misreading of the MS. certificate from which alone we have the tradition of the name. If the signer was in fact James Hoskins, we would then have to do here with one of that King & Queen family of Hoskins which Bishop Meade (i, 381) names among the early vestrymen of St. Stephen's parish (See also for others of the same family, *W. & M. Quar.*, xviii, 252, 276; *Va. Mag.*, xxiii, 198). These Hoskins appear on the south bank of the Rappahannock in 1668 (*Patents*, 6: 156) when a William Hoskins took up 350 acres in old Rappahannock County; and are noted again in 1738 (*Patents*, 18: 129) when John and Samuel Hoskins sued out a repatent for 1,430 acres in King & Queen. After the Revolution, another John Hoskins (1750-1813) was included in the King & Queen commission (*Cal. Va. State Papers*, vii, 129). He is here particularly significant because he was a considerable figure on the Virginia turf, incidentally appearing in the stud book as the owner of Hoskins' Americus (a grandson of Fearnought) and of Hoskins'

Kitty Fisher (a granddaughter of Carter Braxton's imp. Kitty Fisher). The loss of the King & Queen records makes it impossible to test an hypothesis that this family included a James Hoskins who might have been Dabster's owner in 1744; but it may be noted that those of the Hoskins who (like their neighbours, the Tunstalls, *post*) migrated to the Southside and appear in the Halifax records, reproduced all the names we have noted in King & Queen, and include also that which is here required, i. e., William Hoskins was in the Halifax commissions for 1764-70 (*Bulletin Va. State Library*, xiv, 78); Samuel Hoskins, James Hoskins and John Hoskins, all married in Halifax between 1773-1797 (Carrington, *Halifax County*); this James being listed also in the Halifax census of 1782.

As the ownership of Dabster in King & Queen would fit in with the horse's record in the stud, we venture, on the somewhat tenuous genealogical argument here propounded, to assign the ownership of the horse to an otherwise lost James Hoskins of King & Queen.

1746 *Crab* [*Mr. Routh's*] (GSB, i, 7) *John Baylor of Caroline*

Again, Edgar is the original voucher for the importation of this horse. He says: 'Bred by Mr. Routh, foaled in 1736, and imported into America about the year 1746. Got by Old Crab [whose dam was a Basto mare]: Counsellor: Coneyskins: Hutton's Arabian. He died in Va. in 1750.'

'[Certificate] Va. 1751, George Haughton; 1752, John Hutton; 1753, Alex. Gadsby.'

Skinner follows Edgar. Bruce confirms the breeding from GSB (i, 7). There are no advertisements.

There has survived in the family of John Baylor, of Caroline, an example of the print, published by Thomas Butler in 1754, of one of Seymour's 'portraits' of Old Crab with the inscription giving his turf record and his breeding ('Crab was bred by Charles Pelham, Esq. and got by the Black Arabian, sire of the Ancaster Gentleman, the Wynn Spin and others. The dam of Crab was got by Basto and was bred by the late Sir William Ramsden, out of a daughter of the sire of Leeds'). While not conclusive evidence, this print (reproduced in *Va. Mag.*, xxxv, 329), coupled with the Virginia tradition, is persuasive that John Baylor was the importer of 'Mr. Routh's

Crab,' perhaps his first importation. If so, he must have sold the horse before 1750 to the George Haughton whose certificate Edgar records.

For a notice of John Baylor see *post*, under Fearnought.

1747 *Monkey* (GSB, i, 73) *Nathaniel Harrison of 'Brandon'*

Advocate says: 'Monkey [foaled 1725] was twenty-two years old when imported, and produced afterwards upwards of 300 colts, a very excellent foal-getter. He was got by the Lonsdale Arabian: Curwen Bay Barb: Byerly Turk. This horse stood in Virginia and North Carolina.'

Edgar adds that Monkey was 'imported (we have been informed) by the late Nathaniel Harrison, Esq. of Brandon. He died in 1754 [aged 29 years], as we learn.'

Bruce admits the breeding by reference to GSB (i, 73).

There are no advertisements to vouch for this horse.

Nathaniel Harrison (1703-1791), of the James River family which has persistently distinguished itself in politics, is always recorded as 'of Brandon,' that noted estate in Prince George being his inheritance. But in his generation Brandon was still a 'quarter,' not yet a 'dwelling plantation' (*Va. Mag.*, xxxii, 202). This Nathaniel Harrison was an example of the successful application of a pressure which Virginia women have ever exerted to naturalize their husbands among their own people. He lived at first in Warwick, among the Digges, the family of his first wife; and later at 'Eagles Nest,' in Stafford, in right of the dower of his second wife (a daughter of 'King' Carter) as widow of Henry Fitzhugh.

The date assigned for the importation of Monkey fell between the death of Col. Harrison's first wife in 1744 and his marriage to his second in 1748, and there is no certain record of where he resided during that interval. Despite an advertisement (VG, March 20, 1746) of two of his mares, strayed from Belfield, the seat of his brother-in-law, Edward Digges in York, which called for their return to the owner 'in Prince George,' it is probable that Monkey made his Virginia career in the stud at 'Eagles Nest,' for his stud book record shows that he was mated with mares owned in the Rappahannock valley.

1750 *Jolly Roger* (GSB, i, 152) *Ralph Wormeley of Middlesex*

Advocate says: 'Jolly Roger, was the first horse that gave distinction to the racing stock of Virginia. His performances on the English turf, and his pedigree, are recorded in the name of 'Roger of the Vale.' After he was imported into this country he took the name by which he is now known; he was foaled in 1741, and commenced covering in Virginia about the year 1748 (*sic*). He was got by Roundhead, who was by Flying Childers, who was by the Darley Arabian. The dam of Roundhead was the famous 'plate' mare Roxana by the Bald Gallo-way, the dam of the celebrated racers and stallions Lath and Cade by the Godolphin Arabian. The dam of Jolly Roger was got by Mr. Crofts' famous horse Partner, the best racer and stallion of his day, his granddam by Woodcock: Crofts' Bay Barb: Makeless: Brimmer: Son of Dodsworth: Burton Barb mare [Bruce confirms this breeding from GSB, i, 152].

'Jolly Roger got many fine racers, stallions and brood mares, and is a favourite cross in the pedigree of the Virginia bred turf horse, and very justly too.'

As to the date of importation, we have pertinent testimony by John Baylor. In a letter of August 2, 1761, he observed incidentally that he then had 'a filly by old Jolly Roger, formerly the Duke of Kingston's: he ran well in 1749,' out of the mare, '[Jenny] Dismal, daughter of Lord Godolphin's Whitefoot,' which he had imported in 1756. Apart from adding to the list of Jenny Dismal's produce recorded by Bruce, this statement proves two things; (a) that Jolly Roger was imported later than 1749; and (b) that at first he stood somewhere in the Rappahannock valley. Culver confirms this last deduction by his record (p. 106) that Jolly Roger was some time the property of the second John Tayloe. The authority for that particular identification of ownership is not, however, cited; and against it must be put the tradition of the Tayloe family that it is not justified. Lacking such primary evidence as an advertisement or a surviving MS. might afford, we are therefore driven to a conjecture for an alternative identification of ownership. The search is for someone resident in the Rappahannock valley able and apt to import such a horse. Fortunately, a conjecture may be ventured on those premises without violence to probabilities and without going far afield. It is probable that Jolly Roger's first owner



FLYING CHILDERS (1715-1741)

in Virginia was Col. Tayloe's neighbour and kinsman, Ralph Wormeley (1715-1790) of Rosegill. The warrants for this are (a) that this Wormeley is shown to have been active in organizing subscription race meets at this time (See e. g., VG, No. 180) in association with John Tayloe and the two sporting Yorktown merchants and proven horse importers, Mordecai Booth and William Nelson of York; (b) that he had already (1746) imported the mare Mary Grey, who is recorded to have been mated with Jolly Roger (See *post*); and is proven subsequently to have been the owner of several notable Virginia bred horses; e. g., Fearnought's son, King Herod; (c) that throughout a long life he was deemed an authority on horse breeding (See Abraham Smith's advertisement in VG, December 30, 1780, of this Wormeley's opinion of a horse); (d) that he was one of the richest men in Virginia at this time and, so, amply able as well as apt, before the days of commercialism, to import a horse of the breeding and cost of Jolly Roger; (e) that the Wormeleys were Yorkshire men and Jolly Roger a Yorkshire horse; (f) the application of the logical process of elimination leaves no one else in the Rappahannock valley at this time so likely to be the man we are seeking.

After Jolly Roger had established his blood in the Rappahannock valley he was transferred to the Southside and is thenceforth vouched for by advertisements for the remainder of an unusually long life, viz:

[1766, May 9, VG]

'Prince George, May 1, 1766.'

'The noted horse Jolly Roger stands at my house this season, and will cover at 20s. the leap, 40s. the season, or 4 l. to ensure. Any persons that will send their mares, may depend upon their being taken great care of.

'Charles Harrison.'

[1767, April 23, VG]

'The noted horse Jolly Roger stands at my house, near Freeman's Bridge, in Sussex county, in order to cover mares at 20s. the leap, 50s. the season, or 5 l. ensurance. Good pasturage for mares.

'Timothy Rieves.'

[1768, April 28, and 1769, April 13, VG]

'The noted horse Jolly Roger, stands at the subscriber's in Brunswick county, near Allen's mill, in order to cover mares at 15s. the leap, 40s. the season, and 3 l. to ensure. Good pasturage gratis, but I will not be liable for any mares that may get away, though all necessary care shall be taken to prevent it.²⁸

'James Balfour.'

Jolly Roger was not advertised after 1769. Nevertheless Skinner notes a breeding certificate for him by John Goodrum; and as there was a family of that name recorded in the Greenesville census of 1783, this must refer to the last phase of the old horse. But, whatever was Goodrum's relation, Edgar's traditional record of the horse's death has obvious references to the James Balfour who signed the last cited advertisement, i e.:

'Jolly Roger died in the stable of Mr. James Belford [Balfour] in Greenesville County [i. e., in that part of Brunswick later included in Greenesville] in 1772, aged 31 years.'

Ralph Wormeley (1715-1790) of Rosegill in Middlesex was the son of John Wormeley (1689-1726) and Elizabeth Tayloe his wife (See Hening, v, 86), and, so, the grandson of 'Secretary' Ralph Wormeley (1650-1701), the builder of that notable house, Rosegill (See *A Frenchman in Virginia*, 1686); and the great great grandson of the cavalier Ralph Wormeley, who had emigrated to Virginia from Yorkshire during the Commonwealth and there established a 'consular' family.

The importer of Jolly Roger was one of the few of his family who did not sit in the Council; after serving in the House of Burgesses from 1742-1764 (*Va. Mag.*, xvi, 16) he eschewed politics and spent his time at home in those traditional pursuits of an English country gentleman, agriculture and horse breeding; incidentally sending his son, another Ralph (1744-1806) to be educated at Eton and Cambridge. The Wormeleys are one of the most significant and interesting of the true F. F. V.s.

²⁸ See Appendix B.



RALPH WORMELEY (1715-1790) OF 'ROSEGILL'

Charles Harrison (1735-1796) of Prince George, who advertised Jolly Roger in 1766, was the youngest son of the Benjamin Harrison of Berkeley who died in 1745 (*Va. Mag.*, xxxiv, 384); and in consequence was a brother of the Benjamin Harrison (the Signer) and the Robert Harrison who also appear as the owners of English horses. This Charles inherited under his father's will (*Va. Mag.*, xxxii, 99) lands in Prince George and in 1761 married a daughter of Augustine Claiborne of Blandford and Sussex (See Slaughter, *Bristol Parish*, pp. 84, 107, 167). In the Revolution he commanded the first regiment of Continental Artillery, his principal service being in the South with Gates and Greene; and is thus identified as the Colonel of Artillery whom the Marquis de Chastellux met at Berkeley in 1782. This Charles Harrison seems to have been an authority on horses. His opinion was quoted with respect in several contemporary horse advertisements. His interest is further shown by a letter he wrote from London to his brother-in-law in September, 1783: 'If it should happen I do not return in the spring shall consign to you a number of the first blooded horses, mares and colts in England, which I flatter myself would command a price.'

Timothy Rieves of Sussex was a representative of a long established Southside family which, during several generations, sat on the Sussex county court bench. In the Sussex census of 1782 he is listed with 21 slaves. Descendants of the same name appeared later, from the same territory, in the Virginia conventions of 1850-51 and 1901-02.

James Balfour (whose name is spelled also Belfour in some records) of Brunswick (later Greensville), the last owner of Jolly Roger, was (as heretofore noted) an original signer of the Association of 1770. He was included in the Brunswick commissions of the peace for 1770 and 1771.

1750 *Traveller* [*Morton's*] (GSB, i, 40)

Joseph Morton of King George

Advocate says: 'Morton's imported horse Traveller contributed in an eminent degree to the improvement of the turf stock in Virginia. He was a bay horse, foaled about the year 1748 and was a covering stallion at Richmond court house, Va. as early as the year 1754. [These dates are now shown

to be in error, for we cite later an advertisement of Traveller at stud in Virginia in 1751. As he must then have been more than a three year old, the foaling date is also necessarily pushed back.] He was bred by Mr. Crofts at Raby in Yorkshire (who was the fortunate breeder and owner of some of the first horses in England) and was got by his famous horse, Partner, who was a grandson of the Byerly Turk and was himself the grandsire of King Herod. The dam of Traveller was by Bloody Buttocks (an Arabian): Greyhound: Makeless: Brimmer: Place's White Turk: Dodsworth: Layton Barb mare.'

Edgar, while quoting Advocate, says: 'Various conjectures have arisen respecting the true pedigree of this horse.' Bruce also, recording the dam named by Advocate and saying, 'this is the true pedigree,' calls attention to the difficulty in identifying Traveller among the produce of Bay Bloody Buttocks, as recorded in GSB. These doubts arose out of the effort to reconcile the record with Advocate's dates; but by revising those dates to fit the advertisements it now seems possible that Traveller was Bay Bloody Buttock's colt of 1740.

The following advertisements record the horse in the stud in Virginia several years earlier than Advocate's tradition:

[1751, May 2, VG]

'Leeds, April 23, 1751.

'Notice is hereby given, that Traveller, a fine Bay English Horse, full fifteen hands high, will cover mares, from the 15th of May next 'till the 20th of June, at five pistoles and half a crown a leap, or at five guineas a leap, and trial, paid at the stable door: He was bred by Mr. Crofts, as noted a breeder as any in Yorkshire, and got by the famous Partner.

'Joseph Morton.'

[1752, May 8, VG]

'My English horse, Traveller, will continue to cover mares 'til the last day of June, at four pistoles a single leap: and eight guineas to get a foal.

'Joseph Morton.'

'Morton's Traveller (continues Advocate) got Tryall [not Byrd's imp. Tryall. See *ante*] and [Taylor's] Yorick out of a [Taylor's] Jenny Cameron; [Upshaw's] Tristram Shandy out of a Janus; and [A. Lightfoot's] Partner out of Colonel Tasker's imported mare, Selima, who proved to be his best son.'

This Partner, called Old Partner in the Virginia tradition, belonged successively to Armistead Lightfoot, Thomas Mann



CROFTS' PARTNER (1718-1747)

Randolph, Robert Skipwith and John Hartwell Cocke. Among other noted horses, he got: out of the Othello mare, Septima, Richard Lee's and Littlebury Hardyman's Mark Anthony, who proved a tower of strength both on the turf and in the stud; and out of Secretary Thomas Nelson's, imp. Blossom, John Willis' Rockingham.

This list of the get of Morton's Traveller could be greatly enlarged from the Stud Book. It will suffice to cite some of those which carried his name as well as his blood across the Rappahannock, the James, and the Appomattox into Southside and Southwest Virginia. Of twelve Travellers bred in Virginia, eight (known as Lloyd's, W. Jackson's, Lewis Burwell's, J. C. Burwell's, James Southall's, James Gibson's and two (out of different dams) of John McCormick's, were sons of Morton's Traveller; three (Edward Wyatt's, E. Lloyd's and A. Macrea's) were grandsons; and one (Elisha Bowman's) was a great grandson.

Among all these fine horses, the breeding of Capt. Alexander Macrea's Traveller, certified by him in 1774, is perhaps the most interesting, for it collects the most typical Virginia horse blood of the time; viz: 'Got by old Janus: Morton's Traveller: Silver Eye: Whittington: Jolly Roger: Jolly Roger.'

One would like to be able to prove that the horse which bore General Lee so tirelessly during the war between the states derived his blood (as he undoubtedly did his name) from Morton's Traveller through one of the horses in this list.²⁹

As illustrating what Morton's Traveller contributed to Virginia, we may quote a pleasant anecdote of Yorick, one of his sons (out of imp. Blazella), related by the importer of Chippers, in a letter dated 'Mount Airy, Dec. 14th 1773,' to his colleague in the Virginia Council, George William Fairfax, then in Yorkshire:

'The little son we have [the third John Tayloe, then in his third year] is now ill with a cold . . . I have often wished him as happy as his cousin Frank Corbin is, under your care, lest he become a racer for he is fond now of horses to distraction. Indeed his father is foolishly so, for he cannot help wishing for a good nag to take some of the Jockey Club plates at Annapolis or Fredericksburg, where a week's sport is establishing for five years upon the principles of the Annapolis. I cannot leave this subject without giving you an historical account of the performance of my old horse Yorick, now 13 years old,

²⁹ See Appendix C.

who you know has been a stud horse six years. [Yorick is another illustration of the vitality and longevity of the earliest imported stock. After the date of this letter he was advertised in the stud at Mount Airy in 1775; and, after the death of the writer of this letter, was sold to Daniel Jones of Amelia, who in turn advertised him for sale in VG, January 20, 1780. He would then have been in his twenty-first year.] A match was made on him by some young Fauntleroy's, against a breed horse of Dr. W^m Flood's for £500 a side, quite on the Doctor's own terms to run one heat of five miles 12 stone, 12 lbs, which Yorick run easy in 12 minutes and 27 seconds hand in hand the whole way, but what is extraordinary in this is that Yorick could not stand training for bad feet, which was his disorder when Selim beat him, [Selim by imp. Othello out of imp. Tasker's Selima belonged to Samuel Galloway of Maryland. The match race referred to, at Chestertown, Maryland, in November, 1766, is described by Culver, p. 115.] being the only time he ever lost the victory, and had not had a regular sweat in eight weeks. This may be amusing to Capt. Wentworth or some of your sporting acquaintances, as it must be thought by them a very extraordinary instance in the running way.'

The fact that Yorick was foaled in 1760 shows that Morton's Traveller remained in the Rappahannock valley when his importer removed to James City in 1752, but in whose ownership does not appear. Nor is there any evidence for the date of his death, other than the statement of a correspondent of ATR (vi, 605) that he lived to old age. On that point we must be content with a deduction. Two of his sons (Gibson's Traveller and Burwell's Traveller) are recorded by Bruce as foaled in 1768 and 1769, respectively, so that he may still have been in the stud as late as 1768, when he would have been twenty-eight years of age.

Joseph Morton (1715?-1759) was a Yorkshire man and an immigrant to Virginia, where he became a distributing agent for a group of Yorkshire horse breeders. During the twenty years following 1750, no less than eight horses of Mr. Crofts' breeding were placed in Virginia as the result of his propaganda; horses which left to subsequent generations a strong infusion of Byerly Turk blood, from which the Old Dominion greatly benefited. The earliest record of him in the colony is of his marriage in 1738 to Frances, daughter of William Colston of Richmond County (Hening, vii, 636; vii, 168; *Va. Mag.*, xxxv, 279). A year later he describes himself in an advertisement of a runaway servant (VG, No. 150) as

'late an inhabitant of Richmond [County] but now living in the County of Orange.' After the death of his first wife, he settled on the Rappahannock at Bray's Church in King George (where 'Bray's Warehouse' was already in operation, cf. Hening, iv, 383); and there inaugurated the extensive mercantile and tobacco shipping business later maintained by his half brother, John Morton Jordon, a Virginia merchant of London, under the style, Jordon & Maxwell (*W. & M. Quar.*, vi, 247; xvii, 145). It was at this time (1742) that 'great numbers of people have of late settled themselves' at Bray's Church, in consideration of which the Assembly established there the town of Leeds (Hening, v, 198). This name (derived from the ancient trading town of Yorkshire) suggests Morton as the promoter and founder.

Morton was living at Leedstown in 1744, when the Leeds-town ferry was established on his land (Hening, v, 250; vi, 18, 212); in 1746, when he organized a race meet (VG, No. 524); and in 1751 and 1752, when he advertised his horse, Traveller. He had meanwhile married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Marmaduke Beckwith of Richmond (P. Beckwith, *The Beckwiths*; *W. & M. Quar.*, v, 108), the later importer of Tom Jones.

In the spring of 1752 Morton acquired Dr. John Dixon's plantation in James City County, removed his residence thither, was included forthwith in the James City commission of the peace, 1752, and was elected to the Assembly of 1756-58 as a burgess for that county. He died in James City in 1759. His will (which has survived by chance in a King George court order book) names a son, William Jordon Morton, and several daughters, but makes no mention of horses.

Joseph Morton had a full brother, George Morton, also resident in Virginia, who married a niece of John Baylor of Caroline (*Va. Mag.*, xxv, 321); was for a time in business on the Mattapony (when he was included in the commission for King and Queen); but later (1748) established Morton's Warehouse in King George (Hening, vi, 173), where he died in 1765, leaving a will of record in King George.

1750

*Silver Eye**Samuel Duval of Henrico*

Advocate does not mention this horse, but Edgar says: 'Was a pale sorrel horse, with a white face, raw nose, and glass eyes, very well formed, but light, with all four legs white,

above the knees before, and hocks behind. N. B. The above description of Silver Eye was given to us by a very old gentleman, of high standing and respectability, who was very well acquainted with him, and saw him in the year 1762 or 1763. He was imported by Mr. S. Duval. Got by the Cullen Arabian: Curwen's Bay Barb: Byerly Turk: Curwen's Spot: White-Legged Chestnut: Lowther Barb, out of the Old Vintner Mare, the very best mare of her day.'

Skinner too records Silver Eye as 'got by the Cullen Arabian, dam by Curwen's Bay Barb'; but it does not appear whence this breeding came. Edgar cites no certificate. Bruce says: 'We are unable to find Silver Eye.'

That the blood of Silver Eye was highly esteemed at the time of the Revolution, we have evidence in a letter of October 1, 1777, from John Banister of Battersea to his brother-in-law, Col. Theodorick Bland, jr., then on active service in Washington's army: 'I send you a high bred horse (Janus: Silver Eye) for whom I gave £125 the day I left home' (*Bland Papers*, ed. Campbell, i, 70).

There are two advertisements to vouch for Silver Eye:

[1751, April 22, VG]

'The Subscriber's English Horse, known by the Name of Silver-Eye, at his house in Henrico County, will cover mares all this season for twenty-six shillings each cover, or five guineas, and the mare shall be covered as often as the owner pleases this season, or until the mare refuses the horse, if the money is sent, not otherwise.

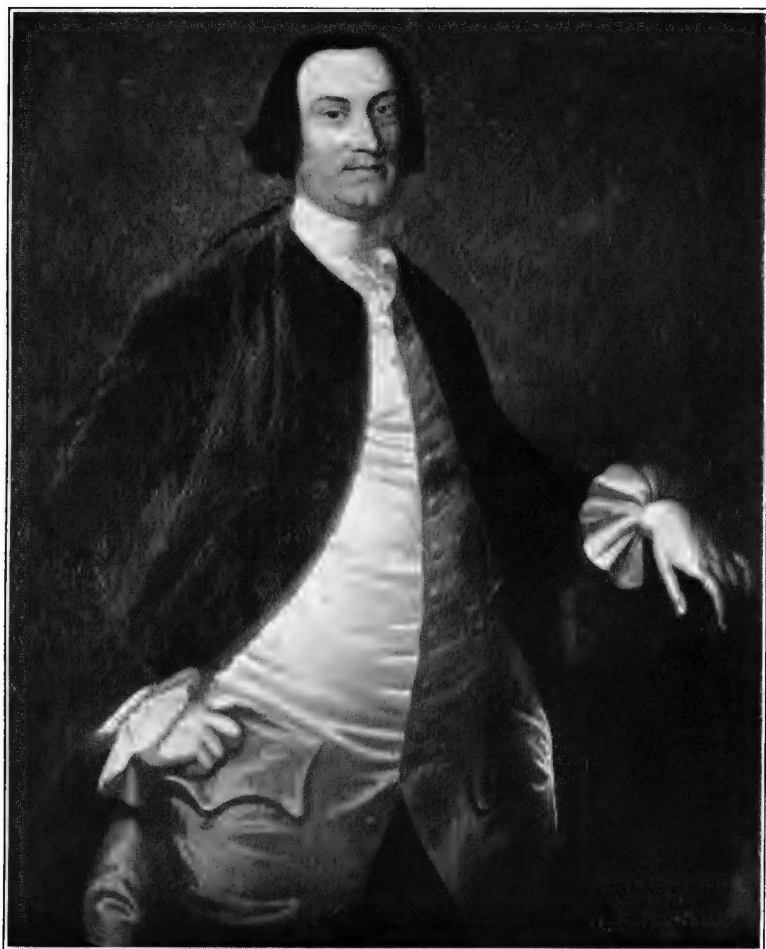
'Samuel Du-Val.'

[1766, April 4, VG]

'My English horse Silver Eye covers mares, at my house, in Henrico county, at twenty shillings each cover, three pounds the season, or four pounds to ensure a colt; for ready money, or tobacco. Good pastures for mares, gratis.

'Samuel Du Val.'

Samuel Duval (d. 1784) was the son of one of the French Huguenot refugees who came to Virginia in 1700 and were settled at Manakin Town on the upper James (Brock, *Hugue-*



JOHN TAYLOE (1721-1779) OF MOUNT AIRY

not *Emigration*, p. 81). He married a daughter of William Claiborne of 'Romancoke' in King William (*Va. Mag.*, i, 319; *W. & M. Quar.*, viii, 269) and established himself as a merchant in Henrico. In 1752, the year after he advertised Silver Eye, he was named one of the original trustees for the town of Richmond (Hening, vi, 281; viii, 656; x, 318). He was included in the commissions of the peace for Henrico, 1752 and 1766-1771, and sat as a burgess for that county, 1772-74, and in the convention of 1775. He was later a member of the Revolutionary county committee. His will was proved in Henrico, 1784. Samuel Duval was an enterprising person. Apart from his public service and his contribution to horse breeding, he was the first to develop the Deep Run coal pits (Hening, xii, 222).

1751 Childers [Tayloe's] John Tayloe of Richmond County

Advocate says: 'Childers was a bay horse, of beautiful form, imported by Hon. J. Tayloe, sen., and was got by Blaze (a son of Flying Childers): his dam was a daughter of old Fox. Childers was a covering horse in Stafford county, Virginia, in the year 1752.'

The date of importation is assured by the fact that Childers competed in the first of the Virginia-Maryland intercolonial races, that held at Gloucester race ground, December 5, 1752, when Tasker's Selima won over the third William Byrd's Tryall and John Tayloe's Childers was distanced (*Va. Mag.*, ii, 302).

As to the breeding, Bruce notes: 'We can find no produce of Fox by Blaze, nor of Fox by Bald Galloway.'

There are no extant advertisements for this horse. Edgar contributes the earliest Virginia breeding certificate: 'Richmond County, Va., 1752, John Tayloe.' to which Skinner adds a note that Childers 'stood in Stafford County, 1759, Francis Thornton,' thereby referring to a lost advertisement in VG (April 6, 1759). This was evidently Advocate's source also because Skinner's surviving note gives the breeding assigned by Advocate. That the horse was still at stud in 1764 appears from a reference to him in an advertisement of that year (1764, March 15, MG) as 'Childers, now at Col. Francis Thornton's in Virginia.'

The contribution of the Tayloe family to horse breeding in America is well known, and is justly appreciated in detail in the several stud books and generally in such historical studies as those of Messrs. Trevathan, Anderson and Culver.

The second *John Tayloe* (1721-1779) who inaugurated that tradition by importing his Childers and breeding extensively illustrates a stage in the development of Virginia civilization. He had brought back to the colony from his education in England a taste for contemporary English standards in domestic architecture and sport, but it was not until after his father died in 1747 that he was able to give expression to it. Then, in the most prosperous period of the colony, he abandoned the modest plantation house he had inherited, and built, on a bluff overlooking a wide reach of the Rappahannock, a notable mansion, Mount Airy: and then he began to import race horse blood. That he had previously satisfied his appetite for racing with the traditional community sport founded on native stock is shown by an advertisement he inserted in VG, May 15, 1746. This was the offer of a reward of a moidore for the return of 'a black gelding, above size and a very genteel nag . . . well gaited and high mettled,' which had strayed from Anderson's Race Ground in Gloucester.

The third *John Tayloe* (1771-1828), son of the importer of Childers, carried on brilliantly after the American Revolution the tradition he had from his father. As one built Mount Airy, the other built the Octagon House in Washington. As one imported English race blood to Virginia, the other is listed also as the importer of no less than nine bred horses, viz: Brilliant, O'Kelly, Dungannon, Gabriel, Volunteer, Mufti, Chance, Robin Redbreast, and Toby: and also several mares, including Castianira, the dam of Sir Archy.

This third John Tayloe is peculiarly interesting to horsemen because, apart from his notable record as a breeder for the turf, he solved that problem which all large breeders face, of finding a vent for their surplus stock. Although educated at Eton and Cambridge, unlike the modern American Rhodes scholar, he proved himself an eminently practical example of the American captain of industry. Not only did he produce 30,000 bushels of wheat in one season on the Mount Airy

low grounds, but he was an iron master, a bank director, and a pioneer of organized transportation.

In this last mentioned capacity he maintained a stage line which carried the 'great southern mail' between Alexandria and Fredericksburg; and his stud book (now in the possession of his great grandson, E. D. Tayloe, Esqr., of Edgehill in Albemarle) shows frequent notations of surplus horses 'gone to the stage.' The use of clean bred stock in such service (made particularly laborious and heavy by the notorious state of the Potomac Path in that day) was a justification of Thomas Jefferson's argument in 1784 (*Notes on Virginia*, Query xx) that the prevalence of the 'Arabian horse' in Virginia was one of the economic assets of the Commonwealth. 'Their patience of heat without injury,' said Jefferson, 'their superior wind, fit them better in this and the more southern climates even for the drudgery of the plough and the wagon.' A son of the third John Tayloe

Benjamin Ogle Tayloe (1796-1868) of Washington was not only, as of inherited right, an active leader on the turf in his generation (see the catalogue of his stud in 1834 in ATR, vi, 157) but he was a prolific and learned writer on the history of the horse in America; if always under a pseudonym, after the fashion of gentlemen of his day. His marginal notes on his own set of ATR identify, as his, various contributions to that magazine signed 'Observer,' 'Critic,' 'Multum in Parvo,' 'a native born Marylander' [he was born in his maternal grandfather's house at Annapolis], etc. There is similar evidence to credit him also with the important anonymous *History of the American Turf from eighty years since* (1834, ATR, vi, 54 ff.); while the signature 'Observer' identifies as his that revision and extension of these early papers which was published in *Porter's Spirit of the Times* (iv, 5 ff.) in 1858. Some notes on Mr. Tayloe's lifelong, but unfulfilled, ambition to put into the hands of American sportsmen an adequate Stud Book have been included, *ante*, in the Bibliography. A systematic study of all these essays and occasional notes, now lying scattered through the files of periodicals, some of which have become difficult of access, confirms the still current oral tradition of Mr. Tayloe's magisterial authority in his day in all matters relating to the turf in America, and gives colour to the warm appreciation of him by J. S. Skinner in his essay on *The Horse in England and America* (ATR, xiv, 134), viz:

'B. O. Tayloe, Esq. of Washington, a gentleman and scholar, who has done more than any writer of whom we have any knowledge, to throw light upon the obscure but interesting annals of the American turf, consisting until then of a confused mass of scattered materials—*rudis indigestaque moles*—arranging them in chronological order, and imparting to them all the perspicuity and weight of digested and authentic history.'

Francis Thornton (1725?-1784), the last owner of this Childers, was a representative of a well known Caroline family (*W. & M. Quar.*, v, 58). After his marriage to a Fitzhugh in 1747 he established himself at 'Society Hill' in Stafford and there, during a long life, maintained an interest in horses and racing. Culver (pp. 56, 69) affords glimpses of him on the turf in 1752 and 1768. He became (as a writer in ATR later testified) 'proverbial for his great knowledge of pedigrees.'

1754

*Shock (Baylor's)**John Baylor of Caroline*

Advocate does not mention this horse; but Edgar had a certificate for him (1774) by John Baylor, Jr., on which he says: 'A bay horse, imported by the late Col. Baylor of Va. Got by Old Shock [he by Jigg, son of Basto and grandson of the Byerly Turk]: Crofts' Partner: Makeless: Brimmer: Place's White Turk: Dodsworth: Layton Barb Mare.'

Bruce admits the pedigree, but adds: 'We cannot find this colt and find but one colt by [old] Shock out of a Partner mare, Bolton, foaled 1752 [the reference is to Lightfoot's Bolton, *post*].' Col. Baylor's letter book (which survives only for the years 1759-65) shows that he had imported Shock before he acquired Sober John; but a letter of June 24, 1763, to his Liverpool correspondent, John Backhouse, in which he says, 'I well remember that you sent me Shock in March,' unfortunately leaves the year a blank. As Sober John is recorded on the turf in England in 1754, it is a fair deduction that Shock came over not later than that year. In 1763 Col. Baylor planned to sell Shock, 'having such a number of his breed;' but it does not appear what became of him.

1755

*Sober John**John Baylor of Caroline*

Advocate recites the importation of this horse without comment. Again, Edgar gives details, saying: 'A brown horse the property of Mr. Weaver; foaled in 1748. Got by Rib, a son



WILLIAM BYRD III (1728-1777) OF 'WESTOVER'

of Crab [*cetera desunt*]. Sober John was imported into Virginia by Col. Baylor. His pedigree is not laid down in the General Stud Book of England, and the effort in this country to discover it has been unsuccessful. The following sketch may be found in Heber's English Racing Calendar, for 1754, p. 187. He ran that year 6 times and won the subjoined races:—May 23, Wisbech, Norfolk, 50£; June 12, Stamford, Lincolnshire, 50£.

Skinner, echoing Advocate, includes Sober John in his list of imported horses 'whose pedigrees are unknown.' Bruce quotes Edgar.

Col. Baylor wrote to a correspondent in England, August 6, 1761: 'I now abound in fine horses from Shock and Sober John. Five years past I imported a very fine mare, [Jenny] Dismal, daughter of Lord Godolphin's Whitefoot. She brought me two very fine colts by Sober John.' On July 5, 1762, he wrote again: 'I have sold my old horse, Sober John,' and on June 24, 1763, he recorded that Sober John is 'since dead.' The surviving letter book gives no clue to the dam of Sober John.

Racing notes in VG (1767, May 28; October 29) record that in 1767 Col. Baylor broke his rule against appearance on the turf, by matching a Sober John colt, Britannicus, at Williamsburg and Petersburg. On the first occasion he beat Col. John Cocke's Janus filly; and on the second was beaten by Col. Byrd's Valiant-Tryall (by Valiant out of a Tryall mare), each time for a purse of £100.

1756 *Valiant* *William Byrd, III, of Charles City*

Advocate did not record this horse, and Edgar apparently had no more than a tradition of him, without date or importer's name. Despite that lack, Edgar identified him, without qualification, as that Valiant by Dormouse out of a Crab mare, foaled 1755, which is noted in GSB (i, 67). On this, Bruce was hardly justified in reproducing, as he did, Edgar's unsupported identification and extending the pedigree, even with the qualifying note, 'we cannot find this colt;' for there is authentic evidence that the imported Valiant was on the turf in Virginia in 1757, and so could not have been the Dormouse colt foaled in 1755.

That evidence is an incidental reference in a letter (among the Byrd MSS. of the Virginia Historical Society) of the third William Byrd's first wife, dated 'Belvidere,' May 13, 1757.

This is addressed to her husband in the field in Pennsylvania and says: 'Your horse Valiant has lost the race that Mr. Page and Mr. Lewis made with Mr. Boothe.' This was probably a match with Janus, of which no other record has survived.

This date, which falls in the decade of the scant files of VG, is perhaps the explanation of our lack of any early Virginia advertisements for Valiant, such as might be expected to record his pedigree; but, fortunately, an assured identification of the horse may be deduced from Pennsylvania advertisements (1763, April 21; 1765, April 25, PG) of two of Valiant's sons out of a Tryall mare; namely, Westover (foaled 1759) and Young Valiant (foaled 1760). There 'Col. Byrd's Valiant' is described as 'a running horse in great esteem [formerly] belonging to the Duke of Ancaster and got by Grasshopper [a son of Old Crab, GSB, i, 380].' On this lead, Mr. O'Connor turned Valiant up in the *Racing Calendar*, found his dam there identified with 'Brisks dam,' and deduced that he was foaled 1747. The horse is not entered, however, either by Pick or GSB.

After Valiant had passed out of the Westover stud he is vouched for further by the following advertisements:

[1771, July 11, VG]

'The imported horse Valiant, formerly the property of the Honourable William Byrd, Esquire, stands at Richmond in great perfection and will cover mares this season at fifteen shillings a leap.

'Alexander & Peterfield Trent.'

[1776, March 29, VG]

'Brunswick, March 18, 1776.

'Valiant, now in high perfection, and lively as a colt stands at my house to cover mares at 17s. 6d. the single leap, and 40s. the season. Good pasturage gratis, but I will not be liable for any mares that shall be stolen, or get away.

'James Maclin.'

William Byrd, III (1728-1777) of Westover was still a lad when his distinguished father died and he inherited the largest fortune in Virginia. His friend and neighbour, David Meade of Maycox, said of him (*W. & M. Quar.*, xiii, 91): 'At his first setting out in life [he was] distinguished by his good origin, ample fortune, elegant manners, and handsome person. Before he had reached his majority he went to England, where it appears he engaged in all the gayeties, prodigalities and dis-

sipations to which young men of rank and fortune were addicted [including] the terrible vice of gambling. A story was current in Virginia for fifty years and may yet be so, that at one of the most noted gaming tables at the west end of the town he lost ten thousand pounds at a single sitting to the Duke of Cumberland [In ATR, vi, 57, the anecdote is unconvincingly reversed, the statement there being that Byrd won 'and thus covered his expenses while abroad'] The habit thus acquired followed him to the last period of his life.'

Byrd returned to Virginia at his majority and at once married the daughter of Secretary John Carter of Shirley, and so doubled his claim upon an early seat in the Council: and that honour was duly conferred upon him in 1754, after he had served in the House of Burgesses for a single Assembly as the representative of Lunenburg. Considering his youth and his fortune, his opportunity for public service was thenceforth unusual, and he duly improved it: most conspicuously in 1755 on a mission with Peter Randolph to the Cherokees, and in 1757-62 as Colonel of the second Virginia regiment. His military career was admirable, even in competition with that of the future father of his country. Mr. Meade, voicing the opinion of Byrd's partizans, said: 'Col. Byrd was in some respects the superior of General Washington and in none his inferior:' but when the opportunity came in 1776 for a larger military service it found Byrd out of sympathy with the revolutionary movement. Meade says: 'The friends of Col. Byrd in the convention of Virginia proposed him for the command of the State line, with rank of Major General, but he had forfeited the confidence of the people and their representatives. He was rejected and on the first day of January, 1777, resigned to his successors all his claims to temporal enjoyments and temporal honors.'

The last fifteen years of Byrd's life were not happy. On his return to Virginia in 1762 from the campaign against Fort Duquesne he brought with him a charming second wife (Mary, daughter of Charles Willing of Philadelphia, whose will, proved 1814, is in *Va. Mag.*, vi, 346): but his private affairs were then already involved. He is recorded on the turf in 1766, as he had been in 1752 (Culver, pp. 56, 115), and yet in the interval he had conveyed his property in and about Richmond town to trustees to pay his debts (Hening, x, 446). Thereafter his great inheritance was seriously involved. Both Thomas Anburey and the Marquis de Chastellux heard the melancholy story of the plight to which his gambling had

brought him and record the story in their respective *Travels*. We quote the former:

'The first night after our leaving Richmond I slept at an elegant villa called Belvidera which formerly belonged to a Colonel Bird who distinguished himself greatly in the last war, in that sad disaster of General Braddock's (*sic*). He possessed a most affluent fortune and was proprietor of all the lands round the falls for many miles as well as the greatest part of the lands round the town of Richmond. His great abilities and personal accomplishments were universally esteemed, but being infatuated with play his affairs at his death were in a deranged state.'

The third William Byrd was a leading and consistent sportsman in Virginia, if he left the records of some of his horses in confusion. Cf. the note on his Tryall, *supra*, and the records of Byrd's mares, *post*.

Alexander and Peterfield Trent, of Chesterfield, who stood Valiant in 1771, are listed in the Chesterfield and Cumberland census of 1783-84 as large slave holders. For their family see *Va. Mag.*, xxxv, 440.

James Maclin, of Brunswick and ultimately of Greenville, was of a planter family which had several representatives in the House of Burgesses and on the county court bench. Thus in the Brunswick commission of 1770 and 1771 Thomas Maclin appears between William Edwards, the last owner of Fearnought, and James Balfour, the last owner of Jolly Roger. James Maclin himself is listed in the Greenville census of 1783 with twenty-four slaves.

1757 *Janus [Booth's]* *Mordecai Booth of Gloucester*

Advocate says: 'Janus was a chesnut horse, foaled in England in 1746, and got by Janus, a bay horse foaled in 1738, full brother to Blank and Old England, being got by the Godolphin Arabian out of the famous Little Hartley mare by Bartlett's Childers, son of the Darley Arabian.'

'Janus was imported into Virginia by Mr. Mordecai Booth, of Gloucester county, Va. in the year 1752 [*sic*. Edgar cites a



THE GODOLPHIN 'ARABIAN' (1724-1753)

certificate (1757) by Mordecai Booth]; his dam was got by old Fox, (whose name stood eminent in the English pedigrees) his grandam by the Bald Galloway.

'Although Janus partook of every cross in his pedigree calculated for the distance turf horse, yet his stock was more remarkable for speed than bottom. Janus, from his shoulders back, was considered the most perfect formed horse ever seen in Virginia, by most skilful connoisseurs; he was remarkable for roundness of contour, strength of articulation, and indicating great powers and stamina in his whole conformation.

'His stock partook of these qualities in an eminent degree, and for thirty or forty years they were considered as a 'peculiar stock,' as they invariably exhibited even in the third and fourth generations from the old horse, the same compactness of form, strength and power. The Janus stock have exceeded all others in the United States for speed, durability and general uniformity of good form; and more good saddle and harness horses have sprung from them than from any other stock.'

On this, Bruce comments lamely enough: 'This colt is not laid down by the Stud Book or Racing Calendar; he was foaled before the issue of either. No doubt a correct pedigree.' Mr. John L. O'Connor has, however, vindicated Advocate both as to breeding and foaling date by showing (*Thoroughbred Record*, April, 1923) that Booth's Janus was known in England as Little Janus, and under that name was entered in Heber's *Racing Calendar* for 1753 (p. 165) as then the property of Anthony Langley Swymmers (Simms), being described as follows:

'Little Janus, ch. h. 7 yrs. got by Janus, a son of the Godolphin Arabian: his dam by Fox: grandam by the Bald Galloway.'

Mr. O'Connor adds, convincingly:

'The performances of Little Janus show many good races in 1751 and 1752, and one race in August, 1753, in which he was distanced second heat, this proving his last racing attempt. Mr. Simms who owned Little Janus when he ran his last race advertised him as a stallion the following year (1754) and he stood at £1 2s. at Mostone, near Oxford. For the seasons of 1755 and 1756 he also had a stand at the same place. After 1756 I can find no trace of him in England or Ireland.'

Reading this English record with the Booth certificate of 1757, it seems reasonably certain that Little Janus was imported into Virginia in that last mentioned year.

A note on Janus in ATR (iii, 272) adds some further particulars of his appearance; that he was 'a small but beautiful horse; chestnut, speckled on the rump as he grew old; a small blaze in the face, and hind foot white.'

Edgar supplements this with the statement that he was 'of low stature, about 14 hands and $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch high . . . had great bone and muscle, round, very compact, large quarters, and very swift; all of which desirable qualities he imparted so perfectly to his progeny that many of them remain in the stock at this remote period; and great speed and muscular form are still found in many horses whose pedigrees reach him, if accurately traced through different branches; or when, as it is sometimes called, there is 'a double Janus cross.' Nearly all his immediate descendants were 'swift quarter nags;' they never could run far. He was the sire of an immense number of short distance racers, brood mares and stallions. Indeed, a remote cross of him in the most superior race horses of the present day [1833] is generally sought after, as an extract from a letter, lately received, will show:

'A remote cross of Janus is indispensably necessary, at this day, in a distance race horse; indeed there is no other, at this time, which can be said to be more desirable; as, to use the slang of a Jockey, 'Speed always will help out bottom.'

The surviving advertisements show that after the death of Mordecai Booth Janus took up again the progress towards the setting sun which he had begun in England, proceeding from tidewater to the James:

[1767, April 9, VG]

'The subscriber takes this method to acquaint those persons who put their mares to Janus (late the property of Col. John Willis, deceased) by the season and have not had them got with foal, that he is to stand the present season at Richard James in Cumberland County. 'Mildred Willis.'

[1768, March 3, VG]

'Cumberland County, March 1, 1768.

'Janus stands this season at my stable in order for covering mares, at four pounds the season, or twenty-six shillings the leap. Those who do not pay the money upon taking away their mares, must give

bond, payable in October next. I have exceedingly good pasturage; but will not be answerable for any mares getting away, tho' great care shall be taken to prevent it.

'Richard James.'

[1769, April 13, VG]

'Cumberland County, April 10, 1769.

'Janus stands at Mr. John Harris's stable, in order for covering mares, at four pounds the season, or twenty-six shillings the leap. Good pasturage gratis.

'Richard James.'

From the James, Janus next proceeded to the Roanoke, crossing out of Virginia into North Carolina:

[1773, March 18, VG]

'Old Janus is now very fat, and as active as a lamb, and stands at Northampton Courthouse, North Carolina, in order to cover mares at forty shillings a leap, or four pounds the season. The pasturage, which is under a very good fence, will be allowed gratis, but I will not be liable for any mares that may be stolen or get away accidentally. Any gentleman who thinks proper to send a servant to see the mares have justice done in covering, and feeding with corn at twelve shillings and sixpence a barrel, shall be accomodated gratis.

'J. Atherton.'

[1775, March 25, VG]

'Whereas Mr. Goode hath advertised my horse Janus this season contrary to his agreement with me in every respect, I do hereby give notice to those that put mares to him that the season is to expire August fifteenth.

'Jeph. Atherton.'

The note on Janus in ATR (iii, 272), already cited, adds that the horse 'died, at an advanced age, the property of Mr. J. Atherton of Northampton, N. C.' To this Edgar appends an anecdote which, adopted and bruited by Bruce, has become classical:

'The late Mr. John Goode, Sen. of Mecklenburg County, Va., agreed to give 150*l* Va. currency, for him, provided he was safely delivered at his stable in the winter of 1779 or 1780, being in the 34th year of his age. Janus started for the stable of his new proprietor, Mr. Goode, as aforesaid, and progressed as far as the stable of Col. [Herbert] Haynes [of Warren County, N. C.] where he died in 1780.'

For the authenticity of this Edgar cites:

'[Certificates] Va. 1780, John Goode, Sen.; 1781, John Bilbo; 1782, Allan Young; Samuel Young; 1783, Samuel Goode.'

Mordecai Booth (1703-*ante* 1763), son of a Lancashire man who had emigrated to Virginia, was a planter, merchant and ship owner, living on Ware River in Gloucester and doing business in Yorktown (See his commercial advertisements in VG, 1745-46). Dr. W. C. Stubbs of New Orleans has collected (*Two Families of Virginia, Cooke and Booth*, 1923) all the facts concerning him which are now available in consequence of the loss of the Gloucester records, except the pregnant facts as to his breeding stable.

There survives an incidental testimony that Mr. Booth personally negotiated the purchase of Janus from George Grise-wood, a well known breeder in England. Writing to Grise-wood, June 28, 1763, Col. Baylor remarks: 'Mr. Booth, who is since dead, has often mentioned the grand appearance of yr stud. Be kind enough to enclose me the pedigree of Janus you sold him.'

If Hanover may be allowed the primacy in the importation of bred horses, the inspiration to that end undoubtedly came out of Gloucester, where the peculiar civilization of Virginia flowered for a season; for there distance racing was inaugurated at the earliest subscription meets which may be distinguished from the traditional 'quarter' matches. Thus in 1739 (VG, No. 180) William Nelson of York and Ralph Wormeley of Rosegill advertised such a subscription meet 'at Joseph Seawell's.' In 1746 (VG, No. 511) this was repeated at 'Anderson's race grounds;' and in 1752 (*Va. Mag.*, ii, 302; Culver, p. 56) the first of the intercolonial subscription meets was held at 'Gloucester race ground.' Janus was imported to supply the demand thus created.

John Willis, who described himself in his will (dated December, 1764, and proved January, 1765) as of 'Beddingfield Hall' in Brunswick, was a son of Francis Willis of the noted Gloucester family of that name. He must have purchased Janus from the executors of Mordecai Booth; but he did not live to enjoy him long. His widow, Mildred, who signed the advertisement of 1767, was a daughter of Augustine Smith of 'Shooter's Hill' in Middlesex.

That John Willis was the owner of a considerable stud appears from an advertisement (1771, September 17, VG) by his son, Augustine Willis, offering for sale at Blandford '20 likely blooded horses, mares and colts.'

Richard James was a leading planter in Cumberland; being included in the commissions of the peace, 1764-68, and later employed by the Assembly on 'country business' (Hening, viii, 606). He is listed in the Cumberland census of 1782 with 35 slaves.

Jephtha Atherton, the last owner of Janus, was a local revolutionary leader in Northampton County, North Carolina. He appears (Wheeler, *Sketches of North Carolina*) as a delegate for his county in the provincial conventions of 1775 and 1776, and in 1777 as a member of the first House of Commons of the state. In 1776 he was also Lieutenant Colonel of Northampton militia.

John Goode (1725?-1783), of Cox's Creek in Mecklenburg, grandson of an immigrant from Barbadoes who was in 1660 one of the earliest settlers near the falls of James River, was, himself, a Virginia type of his generation—the prosperous and sport loving Southside planter, who found his greatest happiness in quarter racing. If not the largest slave holder in Mecklenburg, as his family chronicler asserts (*Virginia Cousins*, 1887, p. 43), the census record of 1782 shows him listing thirty-eight servants. That enumeration would now be more interesting if it had included his horses: but here the chronicler came out ahead. His statement that John Goode was the owner of 'the celebrated quarter-race horses, Twigg and Paddy Whack,' reveals the reason for his interest in Janus. Paddy Whack was bred in the Virginia purple, being recorded by Bruce as 'foaled 1778 by Jolly Roger: Shock: Sober John; but Twigg was what Edgar calls a 'double Janus cross' (by Janus out of his own daughter, Puckett's Switch); and Bruce shows John Goode as the owner of another such also, viz: Goode's Babram, 'foaled 1766 by Janus out of a Janus mare: Jolly Roger: Silvereye: Monkey: he was the best and fastest quarter horse of his day.' This was the kind of horse John Goode and his neighbours used to match against North Carolina, at 160 lbs. racing weight, a quarter of a mile, for a stake of '100 hhds. Petersburg inspection tobo.' (See ATR, iii, 450; and Edgar, pp. 381, 508).

We shall see that other contemporary members of this fam-

ily living on the James were owners of English horses. It will suffice to note here, as evidence of the steady increment of that luxury in the Southside, that John Goode, jr., who is in the Stud Book as the importer of Darlington in 1792, was the eldest son of the purchaser of Janus; a younger son being that Bennett Goode who sometime represented Mecklenburg in the Assembly.

The other names appended to Edgar's certificate were all of substantial Mecklenburg planters who appeared with John Goode, sen., in the census of 1782.

1757 *Jack of Diamonds* John Spotswood of Spotsylvania

The breeding of this horse, recorded as the sire of the seventh dam of Alice Carneal, is one of the problems still debated by the equine genealogists who seek to qualify the descendants of Lexington (including our great contemporary Man of War) for recognition by GSB.

Advocate made no mention of Jack of Diamonds. Bruce, noting that 'we cannot find him' in GSB, gives a breeding for which the earliest testimony is found in Edgar, who in turn gave as authority the name of an otherwise unidentified Solomon Dunn with the date 1763, which suggests a lost advertisement, viz:

'A dark bay horse with a spot in the shape of a diamond in his face; imported we have heard by the late Col. Spotswood of Va.

'Got by the Cullen Arabian: Darley Arabian: Byerly Turk; Taffolet Barb: Place's White Turk: Natural Barb mare.'

It will be noted that the breeding here assigned to the dam is the same as that assigned, by the Virginia certificates, to the dam of Walker's Godolphin mare (*q. v. post*) viz: that of the filly, got by the Darley on Grey Ramsden's dam (GSB, i, 5, 77) who was in turn the dam (by Bay Bolton) of the Godolphin-Whitefoot and Old Bonny Lass; but there is no record that this Darley mare was mated with either the Cullen Arabian or the Godolphin Arabian.

Again there is confusion as to the sire. Certificates (1829 and 1833) by James B. Richardson of South Carolina and I. F. Swearingen of Louisiana (cited by Edgar) of the breed-



THE CULLEN 'ARABIAN' (1740-1761)

ing of the Virginia mare Nancy Air, and her descendants, Sea Gull and Sir William, traced them to a root in 'Spotswood's Diamond (*by Hautboy*)'; thereby referring to that Hautboy (son of Old Fox) who is not entered in GSB. This 'Diamond' and Jack of Diamonds may be the same horse.

Notwithstanding all of this, the fact that the Highflyer mare, which was sent from Virginia to Kentucky and there produced the third dam of Alice Carneal, took with her a pedigree containing a cross by a Jack of Diamonds, is an independent testimony; and may be read with Edgar as evidence that there was such a horse in Virginia before the Revolution.

Edgar's tradition that Jack of Diamonds was imported 'by the late Col. Spotswood' cannot be ignored. The description of the horse gives it verisimilitude. The fact that the horse was in Virginia in 1763 nullifies an interpretation of Edgar's 'Col. Spotswood' as Alexander Spotswood (1746-1818), grandson of the Governor (who was a figure on the Virginia and Maryland turf in 1771 and subsequent years, as the owner of the Virginia bred horses, Apollo, Eclipse, Fearnought and Sterling), because in 1763 that Alexander was still at Eton (*W. & M. Quar.*, ii, 113). It seems likely then that the importer was Alexander's father, who alone of his family is styled 'Colonel Spotswood' in the Virginia records (e. g., Hening, vi, 256).

John Spotswood (1725-1758), elder son of the Governor, made a public appearance on the Virginia scene while still a schoolboy by citing Aesop to the *Virginia Gazette* in 1737 as a contribution to his father's political controversy with Edwin Conway (*W. & M. Quar.*, ii, 265). In 1745 he married a daughter of Capt. William Dandridge, R. N., of King William (*Tyler's Quar.*, vi, 2), and thereupon set up a residence at Newpost on the Massaponax below Fredericksburg, where his father had established the central post office for all the American colonies (*Landmarks of Old Prince William*, ii, 528). Under his father's will (Hening, vii, 328, 445; viii, 27) he inherited a great landed estate and a burden of debt; but he inherited energy also, and it appears from the acts cited above that he so carried on his father's iron works as to show 'very considerable profits.' In 1749 he was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of Spotsylvania, and in 1752 was promoted to be Colonel and County Lieutenant (Crozier, *Spotsylvania County Records*, pp. 515, 516). When, in the spring of 1756, an opportu-

ity came for frontier military service in command of the Spotsylvania militia, he made his will (Crozier, *ibid.*, p. 17); took the field and was engaged with the indian enemy (See *Journals H. B.*, 1752-58, p. 454, for a petition of William Hathaway, reciting 'that he went out as a volunteer last summer from the county of Spotsylvania under John Spotswood, Esq., and was [wounded] in an engagement with some Indians'). Meanwhile, he had sat in the House of Burgesses, at first for Culpeper (1752-55), and later for Spotsylvania (1756). His will was proved in December, 1758. He left his estate in confusion, as appears from the recitals of the several acts cited above, which were procured by his executors to enable them to effect a settlement.

It remains conjecture that John Spotswood was the importer of a horse: but the proven interest of his son in the turf gives colour to that conjecture and the dates seem to lead Edgar's tradition to his door.

1761 *Juniper* (GSB, i, 24) *John Syme of Hanover*

Advocate says: 'Juniper, a fine bay, 15 hands one inch high, foaled in 1752, was got by Babraham, one of the best sons of the Godolphin Arabian. The dam of Juniper by the Stamford Turk, &c. Juniper covered in Charles City, Va. in 1762, and was an excellent stallion. He is a remote cross in the Virginia pedigrees.'

Edgar adds that Juniper was 'bred by Mr. Gorges, imported into Virginia about the year 1761 by Col. Syme of Va. who gave (*sic*) 1000£ Va. currency for him [it will appear later that that was what Col. Syme *sold* him for].'

Col. Baylor confirms the date of importation in a letter of August 28, 1761, which refers to 'Warren's Sportsman that beat the famed Juniper now the property of a Virg. gentlm. and expected in every day.'

Skinner and Bruce both confirm the breeding from GSB (i, 24).

In ATR (i, 54) there is the following transcript from an otherwise lost advertisement:

[1763, March 11, VG]

'Juniper was got by Babram; his dam (which won the four year old plate at Burford, from Old Gustavus and seven others), by the Stam-



OLD BARRHAM (1740-1760)

ford Turk: his grandam by a son of Fox, which was own brother to the gelding called Conqueror: his great grandam by the Devonshire Childers: his g. g. grandam (which was also the dam of Old Crab, Snip, Blacklegs, &c.,) by Basto: his g. g. g. grandam (which was also the dam of Old Partner) by the Curwen bay Barb: his g. g. g. g. grandam by the Curwen Spot: his g. g. g. g. g. grandam by the white legged Lowther Barb: his g. g. g. g. g. g. grandam was the Vintner mare. Juniper was a running horse four years, in which time he started for eighteen prizes, out of which he got fourteen; and of the four he lost, his was always the second horse. He won the Jockey Club plate at New Market, upwards of a hundred guineas, free for any horse, the property of the members of Jockey Club; and the ladies' plate, at Oxford. He is fifteen hands and one inch high, a fine bay, very handsome, and perfectly sound.

'Robert Harrison.'

This proves that John Syme sold Juniper to Robert Harrison of Charles City; and a later advertisement in Philadelphia shows that he in turn sold the horse into Pennsylvania:

[1768, February 22, PC]

'Juniper is now in excellent order, and will cover mares at Jacob Hiltzheimer's at 7th Street near Market Street at £5 a mare, the season, or 50 shillings a single leap, and 5 shillings the groom.

'He is a fine bay horse of size, strength and beauty, very healthy and free from any blemish whatsoever, was got by Babraham, son of Lord Godolphin's Arabian [etc., following, as to breeding, the substance of Robert Harrison's advertisement already quoted]. Juniper, after winning fifteen plates in different parts of England from the best horses in the Kingdom, started for the Jockey Club plate on the first of May, 1760, and won it, beating Mr. Pantons famous horse Feather, and Lord Rockingham's Remus.

'N. B. Juniper was sold for 1000£ Virginia currency, by Col. Syme, who imported him.'

Col. Syme did not retire from breeding when he sold Juniper. As will appear later, he imported Vampire in 1764. An advertisement in VG, March 24, 1768, of the Virginia horse Sampson, gives his breeding as 'got by Morton's Old Traveller out of a hunting mare imported by Col. John Syme;' and the stud book shows that still later Syme was the owner of that

greater Virginia horse, Wildair (by imp. Fearnought, out of a Jolly Roger), foaled 1770, who left his blood and name to the saddle horse which bore Thomas Jefferson to his inauguration as President of the United States and was reputed to have been 'hitched to the palisades' during that ceremony (*Domestic Life*, p. 289).

John Syme (1729-1789), son of an immigrant from Scotland who took a leading part in the local government of Hanover from its organization as a county, himself represented that county in the House of Burgesses for twenty-five sessions of the Assembly, beginning in 1756 and including the Conventions of 1775-76; and later sat in the State Senate until 1788. He is listed in the Hanover census of 1782 with 88 slaves. He was a half brother of Patrick Henry (*Va. Mag.*, xxxii, 397).

If Syme was an enterprising and sound horseman, he was not distinguished for personal pulchritude. The second William Byrd saw him in October, 1732, when he was three years old, and observed (*A Progress to the Mines*) that he then had 'all the strong features of his sire, not softened in the least by any of [his mother's] so that the most malicious of her neighbours can't bring his legitimacy in question.' Mr. W. W. Henry (*Patrick Henry*, ii, 128), recording bluntly that he was 'remarkably homely,' caps the Byrd anecdote with another on the same theme; that Tarlton captured John Syme in bed at Dr. Walker's house during the raid on Charlottesville in 1781. When Syme appeared dishevelled in his night shirt, Tarlton, in high spirits, struck an attitude of Hamlet and exclaimed, 'Be thou a spirit of health or goblin damned?'

Robert Harrison, the second owner of Juniper in Virginia, was a younger brother of Benjamin Harrison, the Signer. Although his father's will, 1745 (*Va. Mag.*, xxxii, 98), left him lands on the Appomattox and in Brunswick, he was resident in Charles City in 1763, as appears from the only surviving document which refers to him (*ibid.*, xxxiv, 287). Keith records that he died 'before 1771,' leaving a son Collier Harrison; who was doubtless the sportsman of that name on the Virginia turf from 1800-1810 (See B. O. Tayloe ('Observer') in *Porter's Spirit* (1858), iv, 150).

1761 *Buffcoat**Edward Carter of Spotsylvania*

This horse raises some curious genealogical problems.

The only contemporary record of a Buffcoat in Virginia which commands confidence comes to us at second hand, but on the best authority. This is an abstract of an otherwise lost advertisement supplied by Advocate (AF, x, 86), viz:

'Buffcoat, imported last spring, will be seven years old next grass.
March, 1762. Edward Carter.'

Edgar's notice, next in chronological order, also purports to be based on contemporary evidence, but on scrutiny the source therein relied upon is not convincing; indeed, Edgar here affords a good illustration of the necessity of testing critically his records of Rappahannock valley horses. Citing a certificate (1761), by a Joseph Wells who cannot now be identified, Edgar described imp. Buffcoat as follows:

'A dun horse: foaled in 1742: got by Godolphin Arabian: Silverlocks, by the Bald Galloway: Akaster Turk: Leedes: Spanker. He died in Virginia (*sic*) in 1757.'

As there was in GSB (i, 183, 395) a Buffcoat, bred by Lord Godolphin, which fitted this pedigree as well as Edgar's dates of foaling and death, Bruce, who next considered this horse, gave the weight of his authority to an identification of him with the horse listed in GSB. His lack of criticism of his material in doing this appears in his adoption of Edgar's specification that the Godolphin colt 'died in Virginia in 1757,' when GSB said he died 'at Mickleham in 1757.'

Nor is this the whole story. Bruce's surrender of his intelligence to Edgar's 'wild surmise' has resulted in an inconsistency also by the careful Weatherbys; for their recent editions of GSB add a note, after the entry of the Godolphin colt of 1742, that that horse was 'sent to Virginia,' without amendment of the statement that he died 'at Mickleham.' On the whole case, it seems safe to conclude that the Godolphin colt was never 'sent to America,' but, on the contrary, died 'at Mickleham in 1757,' and that the imported horse was another Buffcoat, perhaps a son of the Godolphin colt, foaled 1755,

and so coming seven years old the spring after his importation in 1761. On this hypothesis an identification of the dam of imp. Buffcoat is wanting.

Edward Carter (1726-1792), second son of Secretary John Carter, is usually termed 'of Blenheim' (in Albemarle), but he lived most of his life in Fredericksburg, and his will, proved in Spotsylvania (Crozier, p. 8), describes him 'of Fredericksburg.' It was there he stood Buffcoat. He did, indeed, remove his residence temporarily to the great patent his father had taken up in the Southwest mountains (See Wood's, *Albemarle County*, p. 163). In the middle of the eighteenth century that was still a frontier, and Edward Carter was not a frontiersman; but at a time when the Assembly swarmed with Carters, this one was moved to join that family gathering, and Albemarle seemed to offer the opportunity. He was duly elected a burgess for Albemarle for two Assemblies (1765-69); when, despite his great 'interest,' he was required to make way for a rising political star of the first magnitude, Thomas Jefferson. Thenceforth no longer did he have to forego the physical comforts of an urban existence at Fredericksburg. It was in consequence of this non-residence that Edward Carter's appearance in the several Albemarle commissions of the peace of his time was always below the quorum.

Thomas Anburey (*Travels through the interior parts of America*, London, 1791) has an interesting notice of Blenheim and of Edward Carter in 1779: 'The house and plantation where General Phillips resides is called Blenheim: the house was erected shortly after that memorable battle in Germany by a Mr. Carter who was Secretary to the colony, and was his favorite seat of residence. It stands on a lofty eminence commanding a very extensive prospect and is built after the manner of that I have described to you in my last [i. e., Tuckahoe]. The present proprietor, Colonel Carter, possesses a most affluent fortune and has a variety of seats in situations far surpassing this of Blenheim, which he suffers to go to ruin: and when General Phillips took it this charming mansion was crowded with negroes, sent from various other plantations to clear a spot of ground a few miles off. The tract of land Colonel Carter possesses in this province is immense and his stock of negroes the most numerous he being possessed of one thousand five hundred on his different plantations.'

1761

Crawford

Robert Ruffin of Dinwiddie

Advocate says: 'Crawford, a fine dapple grey, 15 hands high, was bred by H. R. H. the Duke of Cumberland [the breeder of the mighty Eclipse, and the 'Prince William' as well as the 'Cumberland' of Virginia geography], and got by his Arabian. Covered in Virginia in 1762.'

Skinner extends the pedigree: 'By the Cumberland Arabian: Partner: Snake: Lyster Turk,' and appends the name of Robert Ruffin. Bruce noting, 'We cannot find this horse,' says 'imported into Virginia by Robert Ruffin of Prince George (*sic*) county.'

All of this seems to be based on an otherwise lost advertisement [1762, March 5, VG], noted but not transcribed in AF (x, 86), to which was appended the signature, Robert Ruffin. There is no record of what became of the horse.

Robert Ruffin of Mayfield in Dinwiddie was of the fifth generation of a planter family which first appears in Isle of Wight in 1651 (*W. & M. Quar.*, xviii, 251). He was employed in 'country business' in 1755 (Hening, vi, 485); sat in the Assembly as a Burgess for Dinwiddie, 1756-61; was named as one of the trustees for the town of Petersburg in 1762 (Hening, vii, 607); was in 1762 one of the subscribers to the fund for promoting arts and manufactures in the colony (Hening, vii, 570); and was included in the commissions of the peace for Dinwiddie, 1763-66, and doubtless earlier. In 1769 he printed the following advertisement:

[1769, January 12, VG]

'November 14, 1768.

'As I have thought of removing to King William, I would sell, on very reasonable terms, my land in Dinwiddie, containing 1238 acres, lying on the main road, three miles above Petersburg, whereon there are two plantations, with commodious buildings, and an ordinary which is rented for 8 years at 55 l. per annum. Also about 8000 acres of land in Brunswick, within 40 miles of Petersburg; and near 4,000 acres in the county of Mecklenburg, about 60 miles from Petersburg. On these tracts are several plantations, and the soil is exceeding fine for growing of wheat and tobacco. Credit will be allowed till the 20th of November, 1770. For further particulars, those who incline to purchase, may apply to

'Robert Ruffin.'

That he duly removed to King William in the summer of 1769 appears from his inclusion in November of that year among the trustees for the Pamunkey indians (Hening, viii, 433). He had established himself in the Claiborne house, 'Sweet Hall,' where he lived during the Revolution.

The noted agriculturist, Edmund Ruffin (1794-1865), was of another branch of this family.

1762 *Whittington* (GSB, i, 8)

Thomas and Francis Whiting of Gloucester

Advocate ignores this horse, but Edgar says: 'A chestnut horse. Got by the Cullen Arabian—upon the authority of a gentleman of high standing, in Va.; his dam's further pedigree is unknown. N. B. Whittington is said by another person of great respectability, to have been got by the White-Legged Chestnut Lowther Barb out of the Old Vintner Mare. General Stud Book of England. His true pedigree traced back as far as possible, is most respectfully solicited by the author.'

Bruce corrects the breeding, saying that Whittington was 'foaled 1743, by a brother to Whitenose (GSB, i, 8) bred by the Duke of Marlborough. There has been a doubt about the true pedigree of this colt. We believe this to be the true pedigree, being the only Whittington and corresponding to him viz: Stanyan's Arabian: Curwen's Bay Barb: Marshall's Spot: White-legged Lowther Barb: old Vintner mare.'

Whittington may have been in Virginia before 1762, when we have the following advertisement:

[1762, February 12, VG]

'The beautiful high bred horse Whittington, now the property of Messrs. Thomas and Francis Whiting, will cover mares, at Gloucester Court-House, at four pistoles the season; the money to be paid in August. Pasture for mares gratis.'

The owners of Whittington were the two youngest sons of Henry Whiting of Gloucester, and Ann Beverley, his wife (*Va. Mag.*, xxxii, 130; xviii, 356):

Thomas Whiting (1722-1781) lived in Gloucester Town and sat as burgess for his native county continuously from 1755

until he died. One of his daughters was the mother of General John C. Fremont, 'the Pathfinder.'

Francis Whiting (1728-1775) eventually migrated to the Shenandoah Valley, where his descendants flourished. He may be met, in the diaries of George Washington, a-fox hunting at Belvoir and Mount Vernon during the happy years before the Revolution. Culver (p. 115) also records him on the turf in 1766 with a horse named Janus.

1762 *Sterling* [*Carlyle's*] *John Carlyle of Fairfax*

The earliest evidence for this horse, adopted by Edgar, Skinner and Bruce is the following advertisement:

[1762, July 8, MG]

'Just imported, which the subscribers purpose selling by public vendue, on Monday the second day of August next, at Alexandria, a beautiful grey colt, six years old this grass, bred by John Holme, Esq., of the City of Carlisle.

'He was got by Young Sterling: his dam by Regulus: his grand-dam by Snake: his great grand-dam by Partner (she was the dam of Slider). Young Sterling was got by Old Sterling, out of Matchem's dam. Matchem won the Whip at New-Market.

'Carlyle and Dalton.'

It will be noted that the horse is not named in this advertisement; the recorded name being that assigned by Edgar.

It does not appear what became of him. A subsequent advertisement (MG, August 26, 1762) indicates that he was not sold on August 2nd, but was to be offered again on September 20th, with a later and additional consignment of three horses and three mares, apparently all from the stud of Mr. Holme at Carlisle, received by the same importers on the ship *Christian*. A note in the *Thoroughbred Record*, January 8, 1928, identifies the three last mentioned horses, all by Young Sterling, as the Old England, Thorne's Sterling, and Smith's Hero, which made their careers in New York. On the other hand, it is possible that the grey horse here in question remained in Virginia and was the Starling which John Carlyle mated with 'an imported hunting half bred mare' to produce

his undated Virginia bred Bay Bolton (Edgar, p. 104); and perhaps also the 'the English horse bought of Col. Carlyle,' which was advertised (MG, 1763, May 5) by Jacob Hite of Frederick; but neither of these identifications is certain. It is certain, however, on this evidence that John Carlyle of Alexandria was active as an importer of English horses.

John Carlyle (1720-1780), an emigrant to Virginia from the English border town of Carlisle, co. Cumberland, was one of the original trustees of the town of Alexandria (1749) and there built that 'Carlyle House' which is still shown to tourists because it was occupied by the ill-fated General Braddock while his base was at Alexandria during the spring of 1755. Carlyle married a daughter of William Fairfax of Belvoir, and one of his daughters married a son of Francis Whiting, the owner of Whittington. He served several public offices, including that of H. M. Collector of Customs for the South Potomac, in succession to his father-in-law and brother-in-law, the Fairfaxes; but he made his successful career as a merchant under the firm signed to the advertisement quoted above (See R. H. Spencer, *The Carlyle Family*, 1910).

1762

*Ranter**Andrew Monroe of Westmoreland*

Advocate says: 'Ranter, a beautiful bay, 15 hands high, foaled in 1755, imported [i. e. consigned] into Virginia in 1762, by Wm. S. Wadman. He was got by Dimple, a son of the Godolphin Arabian: the dam of Ranter by old Crab: Bloody Buttocks, &c. Ranter stood in Stafford County, Va. in 1763, and is an old cross in our pedigrees.'

Bruce notes: 'We cannot find this colt;' but Mr. John L. O'Connor is more resourceful, noting from Heber's *Racing Calendar* that in 1759 'Davis' b. h. Ranter, 4 yrs.' ran unplaced at Maidenhead; and that in 1760 'Wadman's b. h. Ranter by Dimple, 5 yrs.' ran third at Lewes.

This horse must not be confused with an earlier Ranter who was on the Maryland turf in 1745; and in 1759 was standing 'in the hands of Robert Welsh Jr. near Disney's Mill,' Maryland (Cf. MG, 1745, May 17; 1759, March 29).

The advertisement of the horse at stud in Stafford in 1763, to which Advocate referred, is lost; but we pick the horse up in 1766 and carry him on to 1778 in the following advertisements:

[1766, April 18, VG]

'The well known horse Ranter will cover mares this season at Marlborough, in Stafford county, Virginia, at 40s. the leap, 4 l. for the season, and 8 l. to ensure a colt, Virginia currency. The mares will have good pasturage for three months, if left so long, but must be sent for at the expiration of that time. There can be no occasion to give his pedigree, which was done in the Virginia Gazette in 1763 and 1764, as his colts in Virginia and Maryland are a much better recommendation. It will be to no purpose to send any mares to him any more without the money, as none will be received on any other terms by

'Andrew Monroe.

'Mr. Meeks keeps a ferry at Maryland point, in Charles county, from whence those who have no better opportunity may have their mares landed at Marlborough. Dollars will be received at 6s. 3d.'

An advertisement of the sale of the personal property of John Mercer, late of Marlboroughtown, deceased, includes the following:

[1771, May 9, VG]

'The very beautiful horse Ranter is yet unsold. Five per cent discount will be allowed for ready money.'

[1774, April 7, VG]

'The noted horse Ranter, stands the ensuing season at the Falls Plantation, in Chesterfield, and will cover mares at twenty shillings the leap, and forty shillings the season. Very fine pasturage gratis, and good care will be taken of the mares, but I will not be answerable for any escapes.

'William Black.'

[1775, April 1, VG]

'The noted horse Ranter now in high perfection stands this season at the Falls Plantation in Chesterfield, and will cover mares at 12s. 6d. the leap, or 40s. the season. Those by the season will have the advantage of remarkable fine pasturage gratis till the 15th of August,

when they must be taken away, and the money paid. Mares remaining longer are to be paid for in proportion as horses taken in to graze. For mares by the single leap, the money must come with them, or notes of hand payable in three months. I will not be answerable for any escapes.

'William Black.'

The following advertisement shows that Ranter was next shipped to South Carolina. The extended pedigree here given is perhaps that originally published in VG, 1763 and 1764, as mentioned in the quoted advertisements for 1766, viz:

[1778, March 19, *South Carolina and American Gazette*]

'For sale at Charleston South Carolina, and will be there from James River in the State of Virginia in a few weeks:— The imported horse Ranter, a fine bay finely marked, with a very lofty carriage, better than 15 hands high, and is allowed by judges to be as beautiful and high formed a horse as ever was imported into Virginia. The following is the pedigree that came in with him.

'Ranter was got by Dimple son of the Godolphin, out of the Hampton Court Moona Barb Mare; his dam by a famous horse of Lord Craven, his grandam by Crab (Crab was got by the Alcock Arabian, his dam by the Duke of Devonshire's Basto out of a daughter of the sire of Leeds and the Byerly Turk; his grandam was full sister to Mixbury, both got by the Curwen Bay Barb out of a daughter of Spot son of the Seliby Turk; his greatgrandam by the Chestnut White Legged Lowther Barb out of the Vintner Mare).

'Ranter's Dam was sister to Martin by the dams side: Martin's dam was got by Crab, his grandam by Bloody Buttocks, his great grandam by Greyhound. Martin was got by Cade who was got by the Godolphin Arabian; Cade's dam was the famous Roxana. Martin at four years old won the Hundred gs at New Market. Was matched to run the next day against the Duke of Ancaster's horse Dart for 500 £ a side, which he won, and was sold by Sir Charles Sidley to the Duke of Ancaster the same evening for 400 £ [For confirmation of this pedigree of Martin see Pond's *Racing Calendar*, 1752 & 1753].

Andrew Monroe (1697-1770) of Westmoreland, who advertised Ranter in 1766, was a first cousin of the grandfather of President James Monroe (*W. & M. Quar.*, xv, 192). His own grandson was the celebrated William Grayson of the Revolution, for whom Virginia named a county. His will, proved in Westmoreland, 1770, shows him to have been a substantial merchant.

John Mercer (1704-1768) emigrated to Virginia from Ireland, bringing with him not only strong native parts but some education in the law. In his youth he had, however, the defects of the Celtic temperament, the qualities of which produced among his descendants some excellent soldiers. He settled at Marlboroughtown in 1726 as a practising attorney and at once allowed a facile pen to get him into trouble with the government (*Journals H. B.*, 1727-40, pp. 66, 71). Again, in 1734, the Prince William Justices complained of his insolence in their court and that he 'excited the people to condemn them and their authority.' For this the Council suspended Mercer from practising law. In 1738 he was reinstated, but in 1739, on a new complaint, was 'forever disabled to practice as an attorney.' Ten years later, however, after he had published his convenient *Abridgment* of the Virginia laws, he was named first in a new commission for Stafford (See the executive journals of the Virginia Council, C. O. 5: 1420, pp. 151, 163; 1423, pp. 75, 96, 347). Unable to practice law, he had turned to land speculation and appears in the Northern Neck grant books from 1730 onward, taking up lands all over the newer parts of Prince William, from Catoctin Creek to the Coblers. With his profits from this speculation he bought up all the Marlboroughtown lots and became the owner of that entire neck. That he had vision in horse breeding is apparent not only in his importation of Ranter, but in the fact that he was also the importer of one of the two first heavy draft horses to be introduced into Virginia. See Nabob, *post*.

William Black (d. 1782), of the 'Falls Plantation' in Chesterfield, was a Scottish immigrant to Virginia (Slaughter, *Bristol Parish*, p. 170). In 1774, the year he advertised Ranter, he attended the Virginia commissioners as their Secretary at the Treaty of Lancaster with the Six Nations, when the indian title to Virginia lands was finally extinguished, and left a memoir of that interesting experience, which was edited by Dr. Slaughter in the *Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*. In 1781 he established a James River ferry between his lands and Rocketts (Hening, x, 459); and in 1782 his will was proved in Chesterfield. This will was interpreted, and William Black's family arrayed, in *Hayes v. Goode* (1836), 7 Leigh, 452.

William Black seems to have been a speculator in English horses.

1763 *Aristotle* *Littlebury Hardyman and Benjamin
Harrison of Charles City*

Advocate says: 'Aristotle, brown bay, 15 hands [the advertisement of 1766 *post* says 15½] high, got by the Cullen Arabian, his dam by old Crab, &c. Aristotle was one of the finest and highest formed horses imported into Virginia in his day; he propagated a most valuable stock for the time he lived, having died shortly after coming into Virginia [*sic*]. He stood at Berkeley, Charles City county, in 1764.'

Bruce observes that Aristotle was a horse of some note on the turf in England and that his pedigree is derived from the Racing Calendar for 1760; but in saying this he cannot have noted the advertisement of 1768 (*post*), and the breeding certificate of 1774, which has survived in ATR (i, 112). This last testified to Aristotle's 'pedigree', taken in Mr. Bladen's [the breeder's] own words: 'My brown horse Aristotle, now sold to Mr. Hodgkin [the horse exporting agent in England who appears in the notes on Vampire, *post* and in Col. Baylor's letter book], bred by me, was got by the Cullen Arabian: his dam by Crab: his grandam by Hobgoblin: his great grandam by the Godolphin Arabian, out of a famous mare called White Cheeks.'

There are several advertisements to vouch for Aristotle, viz:

[1766, May 8, VG]

'The high bred English horse Aristotle full 15 hands 2 inches high, whose shape and strength is equal to any horse, stands at the Indian Fields, in Charles City county, and will cover mares for twenty shillings the leap, or three pounds the season.

'Littlebury Hardyman.'

[1768, March 24, VG]

'The English horse Aristotle, fifteen hands two inches high, stands this season at Mr. Benjamin Binum's, in the lower end of Brunswick county, to cover mares at twenty shillings the leap, or three pounds the season, ready money. Good pasturage for mares gratis.

'Aristotle was got by the Cullen Arabian, his dam by Crab, his grandam by Hobgoblin, his great grandam by the Godolphin Arabian, his great great grandam was a famous mare called White Cheeks.

'Littlebury Hardyman.'

[1773, April 8, VG]

'To be sold the high blooded imported horse Aristotle, a fine bay, fifteen hands three inches high. The colts got by this horse are equal to any in the colony. If he is not sold in fifteen days, he will stand at Berkeley and cover at twelve shillings and sixpence the leap, or fifty shillings the season.

'Benjamin Harrison.'

[1774, March 24, VG]

'The noted high blooded English horse Aristotle stands in full perfection this season at the subscriber's plantation in Southampton County, on Meherrin River, to cover mares at 30s. the leap, 3 l. the season, and 5 l. to ensure. Good pasturage gratis, and all directions carefully attended to, but I will not be liable for any that may be lost.

'William Blunt.'

It will be noted that Aristotle, like greater horses of his day, drifted ultimately to the Southside. It was there that he died, according to Bruce, 'in 1776, aged 21.'

The advertisements cited, supplemented by that (1771, September 26, VG) of the dispersal sale of the Hardyman stud, reveal the importers:

Littlebury Hardyman (1725-1770) of 'Indian Fields' in Charles City County was the representative of a long established James River family. The meagre surviving records of Charles City (*W. & M. Quar.*, v, 272; xi, 47; *Va. Mag.*, vii, 354) show them sitting on the county court bench and in the House of Burgesses during several generations, but their sporting records are fuller. The John Hardyman who was in the commission of Charles City in 1699 and died before 1713, was the owner of the quarter horse, Watt, which was, on a notable occasion in 1697, matched at 'the Ware' against Bony, a mare belonging to Thomas Jefferson, grandfather of the great Democrat (*Va. Mag.*, ii, 296). He was the grandfather of this Littlebury, who was likewise included in the Charles City commission in 1764 (*Bulletin Va. State Library*, xiv, 78), and also cut a larger figure on the turf. Culver (p. 115) records him in 1768 and 1769 racing those three noted native bred stake horses, Partner, Mark Anthony and Pilot. He left a son, another Littlebury, who gave several extant certificates for his father's horses, during and after the Revolution.

The advertisement of the dispersal of the Hardyman stud in 1771 offers for sale, among others, the Partner mentioned above, a Janus colt named Starlock, several colts by Mark Anthony, and

‘the half of Aristotle, a beautiful horse near sixteen hands high, and remarkable for getting the best carriage and riding nags.’

The advertisement of 1773 shows that the owner of the other half of Aristotle bought him in.

Benjamin Harrison (1726-1791), of ‘Berkeley’ in Charles City, was the Revolutionary statesman (*Va. Mag.*, xxxii, 299 ff). His name here stands second on a list of three signers of the Declaration of Independence who were importers of horse flesh; Carter Braxton and Thomas Nelson, jr., being the other two.

William Blunt, who advertised Aristotle in 1774, is listed in the Southampton census of 1782 with 35 slaves.

1764 *Fearnought* (GSB, i, 183) *John Baylor of Caroline*

Advocate says: ‘Old Fearnought was bred by William Warren of England, and foaled in the year 1755. He came out of Mr. Warren’s fine brood mare, Silvertail, and was got by Regulus the best son of the Godolphin Arabian.

‘Regulus, when six years old, won eight King’s plates. He never was beat, being very superior to any horse of his day. Silvertail, the dam of Fearnought, was foaled in 1737, and got by Heneage’s Whitenose; her dam by Rattle: Darley’s Arabian: the old Child mare, got by Sir Thomas Gresley’s Bay Arabian: out of Mr. Cook’s Vixen: who was got by the Helmsly Turk: out of a Royal Barb mare.’

Bruce confirms this breeding by reference to GSB (i, 183).

Col. Baylor’s letter book tells in detail an interesting story of his acquisition of Fearnought. In August, 1761, he wrote to his Liverpool merchant, John Backhouse: ‘If there should be a peace this fall [I hope] to try once more for an ex’y fine horse to cross the breed of Shock and Sober John;’ noting that he needed a horse ‘15 hands high at least, strong and



Old Regulus (1739-1765)

beautiful and of high spirit; most of my fillys from Shock and Sober John being slender.' A year later he wrote again:

'As I have sold Sober John, who is since dead, and must Shock, having such a number of his breed, I can by no means do without [another] one and that of the best sort; as the establishing a good breed may not only prove extremely advantageous to me but to mine hereafter. Therefore beg you will employ your friend on whose judgment you can depend to choose one for me, out of the enclosed list, that answers the nearest to this description; taking them regularly in succession as they are here placed: Hebers Yearly Race Book affording me an op'y of discovering their performance though not their shapes and size. A most beauti'l strong bay at least 14. 3i. high, as much higher as possible, provided he has beauty strength and spi't with it, and one that has won some King's plates with a pedigree at full length and cert. of age under a noblemans hand, as most of the list belong to noble'n. As to his cost I can say nothing more than [to go] as far as you think you can venture to Cr, not however exceeding 5 or 6 hu'd Guineas. Such a price added to his being a Kings Plater would sound so high in the ears of our gentry as to engage them all at a great reward. Be pleased to let me know by the first oppor. what horse and his size. I well remember that you sent me Shock in March and cannot you, my friend, send [the new one] by that time.

'And now for the horses 1st Ld. Portmores *Bosphorus*; 2dly Mr. Shaftoes *Apollo*; 3d Duke of Devonshires *Atlas*, if not too brown; 4th Lord Grosveners *Bedford*; 5th Dos. *Leeds* late Wildmans; 6th Dos. *Boreas*; 7th Dos. *Pangloss*; doubt his size as he has not won the Kings Plate; 8th Duke of Kingstons *Manby*; 9th Mr. Warrens *Fearnought*; 10th Mr. Theack's *Genius*; (all but *Pangloss* Kgs. platers); 11th Duke of Kingstons *Tarpaulin*; 12th Mr. Warrens *Sportsman*; 13th Dos. *Cupid*; 14th Ld. Waldegraves *Vampire* [later imported by T. & W. Nelson for John Syme]; 15th Ld. Gowers *David* [later imported by Meriwether Smith]; 16th Ld. Orfords *Admerab*; 17th Dos. *Ghost*; 18th Mr. McAnnellas *Vitriol*; 19th Ld. Northumberlands *Bold Face*; 20 Ld. Bolingbrokes *Vaton* late Wards; and lastly *Lofty*, *Posthumous* and *Matchless*; all by Ld. Godolphin old bay Arabian—choice enough. As I expect one of the above I think it adviseable to send a good groom with him either by the trip to deliver him here to me or to agree with him for a years wages, for I must confess I am not fond of such troublesome impertinent fellows on my plan'n.'

To the horseman Thomas Hales, who was to advise Backhouse, he wrote at the same time, saying: 'I should be sorry to see any but a Kgs. Plater come as I am in want of strength for our small Virginia mares.'

In April, 1764, he had advice from Mr. Backhouse of the purchase of Fearnought, and at once replied: 'I have no doubt Fearnought will answer the character you give him, but must defer writing on that head till I see him, which I am still in hopes will be this month; otherwise I shall lose several hundred pounds.'

The horse must have arrived in time for a late season in 1764 (though not in March, as Edgar says), for, although Col. Baylor did not acknowledge him until July 18th, he then advised Mr. Hales: 'I hope now that I have twenty-six mares, most of them very fine, in foal by Fearnought; which in all probability will greatly enhance the value of my breed.'

To Mr. Backhouse he wrote the same day: 'I am highly pleased with my fine horse Fearnought, who is much admired by every gentleman who has seen him and readily agree with you gentlemen that he is a very good bargain. I acknowledge myself very much obliged to you and Mr. Hales for your excellent choice, and should he live a few years he will be extremely advantageous to me.'

Edgar records a Southside tradition that Fearnought's 'first cost including freight, insurance, provender, commission, &c. was 289 £ 5s. 9d. sterling;' a figure which compares with the proven cost of Vampire, *post*.

Advocate cites the first advertisement of Fearnought (otherwise lost), in the year 1765, as 'a bright bay, 15 hands 3 inches high, remarkably strong and active, and the full brother to the late Mr. Warren's invincible horse Careless.' Thenceforth the extant advertisements make a nearly complete record for the remainder of the life of this great horse, viz:

[1766, April 11, VG]

'Fearnought will cover mares at Newmarket at eight pounds the season, if the money is sent with the mare, or when she is carried away; or at ten pounds the season, if booked. Care will be taken of the mares, as usual.

'John Baylor.'

[1767, March 26, VG]

'Newmarket, March 13, 1767.

'Fearnought, who is now perfectly recovered, and in high spirits, will cover the ensuing season at Newmarket at 8 l. a mare. The money to be paid before the mares are taken away.

'John Baylor.'

[1771, April 11, VG]

'Newmarket, March 28, 1771.

'Fearnought will cover the ensuing season, as usual.

'John Baylor.'

Col. Baylor died April 6, 1772. His will (*Va. Mag.*, xxiv, 367) bequeathed Fearnought by name to 'my oldest son John Baylor.' But before that will was proved, provision was made for the season of 1772 by the following anonymous advertisement:

[1772, April 30, VG]

'Caroline, April 20, 1772.

'The noted horse Fearnought, now in high order will cover this spring on the former terms and at the same place.'

A year later, the horse was advertised by his new owner:

[1773, March 25, VG]

'Fearnought now stands at Newmarket, in Caroline county at the subscriber's seat and will cover at the usual price, eight pounds the season, and ten pounds ensurance. Any gentleman who may send mares shall have the greatest care taken of them, in every respect.

'John Baylor [the younger, 1750-1808].'

Before the season of 1774 this John Baylor sold Fearnought to William Edwards of Hick's Ford (now Emporia) in Brunswick (now Greenville). Edgar says: 'He covered mares at that place in the springs of 1775 and 1776 . . . at 6 £ Virginia currency, the season, equal to nearly 15 £ at the present time [1833] comparing the value of property and the prices of country produce during these periods.' [What would Edgar say of Man of War's stud fee of \$5,000?] Here again Edgar is borne out by the record, but this statement, ignoring the reduction of the stud fee from £8 to £6, is evidence of the source of Edgar's information in Southside tradition rather than the advertisements. Mr. Edwards' advertisements follow:

[1774, March 24, VG]

'The noted horse Fearnought stands the ensuing season at the subscriber's, at Hick's Ford, in Brunswick County, and will cover at 40s. a leap, the money to be paid down, and 6 l. the season. Good pasturage gratis, and great care will be taken of mares, but I will not be answerable for any that may be lost or stolen.

'William Edwards.'

[1775, March 25, VG]

'Fearnought stands at Hick's Ford, in Brunswick County, and will cover mares at 6 l. the season, payable in October, 40s. the single cover to be paid down, or 3 l. if booked. I have exceeding good pasturage, but will not be liable for any mares that may get away, or be stolen.

'W. Edwards.'

[1776, March 22, VG]

'Fearnought stands at Hicks's Ford, in Brunswick county, to cover mares at 40s. the single cover ready money, or 6 l. the season, payable in October next. Good pasturage, and entertainment for gentlemens servants gratis; but I will not be liable for any mares that may be stolen, or stray away.

'William Edwards.'

This was the last appearance of Fearnought in public. Both Advocate and Edgar testify that he died at Hick's Ford 'in the fall of 1776, aged 21 years.'

Advocate appraises the horse as follows:

'Fearnought holds the first claim prior to the day of Medley, and is therefore entitled to the palm in preference to any stallion that had preceded him in giving the Virginia turf stock a standing equal to that of any running stock in the world. The blood which flowed in the veins of old Fearnought must have been peculiarly rich in those qualities that make up the conformation of the race horse, as not only the whole stock got by Fearnought ran well, but also his sons and his grandsons were remarkable for generally getting good running stock. There was also strength and stamina universally pervading the Fearnought stock, to which may be added good size, that made them the best distance horses of their day. The fact is that the Fearnoughts run well all distances, and the old horse stood higher than any other horse on the continent for getting racers; and he got more of them than any other—he also was the sire of more fine stallions than any other horse of his day.'

With this appreciation may be compared that of Edgar:

'Fearnought was one of the most distinguished stallions ever in America. He contributed perhaps more to improve the breed of thorough bred race horses than any other stallion in the United States, of his day. Very many deservedly celebrated horses sprang from him,

and his distinguished name is to be found in almost any thorough bred horse's pedigree, in Virginia, which traces back to his time. He left behind him a most brilliant and lasting race. Until the days of Fearnought, no other than quarter races were run in Virginia [here speaks the Southside: the statement is, of course, historically inaccurate]. Speed, before his importation, had been the only quality sought for; but his progeny were remarkable for their fine figure and lasting bottom, and introduced a taste (in imitation of the English) for Course racing, which led the Virginians to seek for Racehorses of size and bottom; they having discovered from actual experience, that strength and good wind were the only test of these. He may be truly said to be the 'Godolphin Arabian' of America. He was one, among the few, of the first founders of Virginian Race Horses.'

Advocate gives a selected list of Fearnought's get (in which we have included, in square brackets, the names of the owners), as follows:

'Among other capital stallions and racers, he got the following, viz:

'[Kimball's] Nonpareil, out of a Janus mare; [A. Willis'] Nimrod, out of a Partner; [Wormeley's] America, out of a Jolly Roger; [Fitzhugh's] Regulus, out of the imported mare Jenny Dismal; [John Baylor, jr.'s] Godolphin, full brother to [this] Regulus; [Edward's] Specimen, also full brother to [this] Regulus; [Presley Thornton's] Shakespeare, out of an imported Cub mare; [R. Taylor's] Gallant, out of a Stately mare; [T. M. Randolph's] Shakespeare, out of an Othello mare; [Spotswood's] Apollo, out of an imported Cullen Arabian mare; [Harris's] Eclipse, out of Baylor's imported Shakespeare mare; [George Baylor's] Laurel, out of a Fearnought; [Taliaferro's] Matchless, out of a Sober John; [Hayne's] King Herod, out of an Othello; [Eden's] Why-not, out of an Othello; [Dandridge's] Fearnought {out of Byrd's imp. Calista}; and [Syme's] Wildair, out of a Jolly Roger, who proved to be the best son of old Fearnought.'

To this list we may add other sons of Fearnought advertised in VG, 1773-80, viz: [Taliaferro's] Nimrod; [Winston's] Cripple; [Mann Page's] Damon; [W. Beckham's] Macaroni; [Peyton Randolph's] Careless; and [E. Hawkins'] Independence.

These sons of Fearnought were all treated with the deference due to royalty. Thomas Anburey, who saw one of them (the Shakespeare listed above) in 1779 at Tuckahoe painted (*Travels through the interior parts of America*, London, 1791,

ii, 320) an amusing portrait of him which is worth reproducing here if only as a testimonial to the respect in which the Fearnoughts were held:

'Col. [Thomas Mann] Randolph possesses that fondness for horses which I observed was peculiar to the Virginians of all stations, sparing no trouble, pains or expence in importing the best stock and improving the breed: and it was with no little pleasure he shewed us a fine one named Shakespeare which he imported [he should have said bought] just as the war commenced. There was a stable built purposely for this horse in which was a recess for a bed for the negro who looked after it, that he might be with it all night. This horse is of a handsome dappled grey, about sixteen hands and a half high with a most beautiful head and neck. As to any other points about him it is impossible to tell, for the creature was so amazingly pampered and fat: and being of the race breed, his legs were so small and slim, that they appeared unable to support the weight of his body, exactly like the horses one sees painted in old pictures. The best idea you can possibly form of his size is by telling you that from his withers to his tail, there was such a groove of fat that you might pour water upon his withers and it would run in a straight line down his tail. The horse is obliged to be kept in high condition to enable him to receive the numerous visitors attending on him in the spring.'

There was, too, so large a troop of Fearnought's daughters that few modern pedigrees, which reach into eighteenth century Virginia at all, are without several crosses of Fearnought. Many of these fillies, of course, had individual names, but such was the reputation of their sire that Bruce lists no less than twenty-five who made their careers with no more individual designation than 'Fearnought mare.' It is of interest to note that among them was the charger ridden by General Baron von Steuben during the Revolutionary war.

John Baylor (1705-1772), of 'Newmarket' in Caroline, was educated at the Putney Grammar School in England. His father had been an enterprising and successful merchant and tobacco exporter, and it was upon the fruits of those activities that the son was enabled to indulge his taste for horses; for he had, like the second John Tayloe, brought back to Virginia from his English education a knowledge of and love for the turf, as is attested by the name he gave his plantation. But he had inherited from his father something more than a fortune, namely, a measure of business shrewdness which



JOHN BAYLOR (1705-1772) OF 'NEWMARKET' IN CAROLINE

enabled him to appreciate that there was a commercial opportunity presented by the contemporary rising tide of Virginia enthusiasm for English horses. It is significant that, for all his sincere love of horse flesh, his knowledge of blood lines, and his clear comprehension of the defects of the Virginia horse of his day, he was never allured by the reputation of maintaining a successful racing stable. To one of his English correspondents he remarked sapiently on that point: 'Racing being attended by too great an expence and the attention taken off from other business of much greater consequence, I have for many years dropt it.' Not only that, but he never even mentions the performance of any of his stock on the turf: his concern as to them, outside his stud, was with the accounts sales, to which he recurs frequently with comfort and pride. His shrewdness is revealed again in his appreciation of the colonial foible for association with the peerage. Thus he stipulated that his importations should preferably come out of 'a noble stud;' commenting that a 'pedigree at full length and certificate of age under a nobleman's hand would be looked on here in a much higher light.' His influence upon the Virginia horsemen of his generation is shown by the fact that of the twenty-one horses he listed in 1762 as best suited for importation, no less than three subsequently crossed the Atlantic. He was always willing to pay a long price to get what he wanted; but he comforted himself with the thought that 'such a price added to his being a King's Plater would sound so high in the ears of our gentry as to engage them all at a great reward.' That he was for a time justified in all this appears from his statement in 1763: 'Can you believe it when I tell you that I sold £1537 worth [of horses] last year?' This was before he had begun to realize on Fearnought, but it was based on the high years of Virginia's prosperity. At last, as too often happens in such establishments, John Baylor's stud grew on his hands until it became a burden. This appears in the advertisement by his executors (VG, October 1, 1772) of a dispersal sale of no less than 'fifty choice blooded horses.' He had lived freely with his generation and left an involved estate. The story of his family is told in *Va. Mag.*, vi, 197, 307; xxv, 316. There are some fragments of his correspondence in *ibid.*, xxi, 89, not including, however, the letters here quoted. His interesting will, mentioning Fearnought and the imported mare, Jenny Dismal (still alive in 1770, although his letters quoted *ante* show he had imported her as long ago as 1756), is in *ibid.*, xxiv, 367.

William Edwards of Hick's Ford, in Brunswick (later Greenesville), the last owner of Fearnought, came of an 'ancient planter' family, originally of Surry in 1624, which sat in the Assembly in several generations beginning in 1652. (See Keith *Ancestry of Benjamin Harrison*, p. 50; *The Virginia Carys*, p. 90; *W. & M. Quar.*, xv, 79.) This William himself appears in the Brunswick commission of the peace for 1770 and 1771. There are some notes on his stud in ATR, v, 56; and Edgar notes several later horses owned by members of his family, e. g., Quicksilver (by Mercury).

1764 *Vampire* (GSB, i, 204) *Thomas & Wm. Nelson of York*

Vampire, b. c. foaled 1757, appears in many Virginia pedigrees, and it will be of interest to the owners of his descendants to know that they share with a few families listed in Dr. Stansard's *Some Emigrants to Virginia*, a rare distinction: chance has preserved the full formal documents for his migration to America. In the form of a MS. transcript, certified by Messrs. Thomas & William Nelson of York, these papers were in 1836 contributed to ATR (vii, 572) by Thomas Hoskins, viz:

'The pedigree and performance of Vampire.

'The bay colt sold by Mr. Aron, was got by Regulus, his dam by Steady, his grandam [by] Partner, his g. grandam by Greyhound, and bred by the late [the text quoted is here corrupt: the breeder being given as 'Crofts' Barforth, a distinguished mare who had nothing whatever to do with Vampire. That name must have crept in by accident or by confusion of thought either in the original certificate or in the ATR transcript. The breeder was probably John Crofts of Raby in Yorkshire: but the loss of the name here is unfortunate because while both GSB and the Walderman certificate below say that Lord Waldegrave was the breeder, the Milbanke and Underhill certificates, below, show that the horse was *bought* by Lord Waldegrave from Mr. Aron]: as witness my hand this 14th of April, 1765.

'Thos. Hutchinson.

'This is a true pedigree. This colt I sold to Lord Waldegrave, for Mr. Aron.

'Ralph Milbanke.

'This is to certify that the above horse called Vampire was bought as above mentioned by the late Earl Waldegrave, and was sold by order of his Lordship's executors, after his death, by Mr. Pond at Newmarket, the 28th of April, 1763, unto the Right Honourable Lord Farnham, for his Grace the Duke of Bridgewater, for four hundred guineas.

'James Underhill,

'Steward to the late Earl Waldegrave.

'The above mentioned Vampire I sold in July, 1764.

'Thomas Hodgkin. Cleaveland Court, May 6, 1765.

'The above horse Vampire was the horse I sold to Mr. Samuel Walderman, in October, 1764, and shipped on board the ship *Charming Nelly*, Capt. Benson, thereon commander. As witness this fifteenth day of May, 1765.

'Thos. Hodgkin. Wallin street, London.

'Transcript of a letter from Mr. Walderman, who purchased Vampire [to Messrs. T. & W. Nelson of Virginia]. London, July 20, 1764.

'The horse I bought you was bred by Lord Waldegrave (*sic*), and called Vampire, seven years old, got by *Regulus*, his dam by *Steady* (son of *Childers*), of a blood bay, black mane, tail and legs, fifteen hands one inch high. He won the subscription plate of 1400 guineas, at Newmarket at four years old, beating the Duke of Cumberland, Mr. Shafflor and others—he won two other matches that year, in one beat *Wildman*, purse for 1,000 guineas, and then run by the name of Lord Waldegrave's bay colt. At the death of Lord Waldegrave, he was bought by the Duke of Bridgewater for four hundred guineas. His Grace run him a match this summer, which he lost by half a nose; but it was the opinion of all he would have beat had he been in order, of which the Duke did not know that he was not well, and his groom was afraid to tell; but his being beat gave the Duke a dislike to him, and he parted with him on the field, and Mr. Hodgkin the person who I had spoken to for to look out for such a horse, bought him and gave me the preference.

'S. Walderman.

'N. B. He cost £276 sterling. Charges included.'

Bruce confirms the breeding from GSB (i, 204), which shows that Vampire combined the Godolphin blood of his sire with the Byerly and Darley blood of his dam.

Vampire was advertised for two seasons in Virginia as follows:

[1766, March 21, VG] 'Newcastle [in Hanover], March 13, 1766.

'The beautiful high bred horse Vampier got by Regulus will cover this his first season for 30s. a leap at Newcastle. He won the 1400 guineas sweepstakes, for four year olds, at Newmarket; and beat Wildman's Pam, who had won several King's plates; also a match for 500 guineas. Vampier was sold by Lord Waldegrave to the Duke of Bridgewater for 400 guineas, from whom he became my property, and cost me near as much as Juniper. He is full 15 hands 1 inch high, a fine bay, and in high order. Great care will be taken of those mares left, which may go at 5 l. the season, if gentlemen choose it.

'N. B. Mr. Pearson will receive the cash, and act for me in my absence.

'John Syme.'

[1767, April 9, VG]

'Vampire will cover mares this spring at Newcastle [in Hanover] for twenty shillings a leap, or four pounds the season, until the end of May; after which time he will be removed to Colonel Bolling's in Dinwiddie, where he will cover at the same rates. His pedigree and performances were mentioned last year, and will be satisfactory to any gentleman, who may see them where the horse stands. He is a fine bay, 15 hands 1 inch high, and very handsome.

'John Syme.'

Vampire was the highest bred horse imported to Virginia prior to the Revolution. He must, however, have proved a disappointment in the stud or have soon died; for, although he figures in the pedigree of Timoleon, he left no such record as Fearnought. It does not appear what became of him.

The importers of Vampire were the two distinguished sons of 'Scotch Tom' Nelson, the founder and first merchant of Yorktown (*Va. Mag.*, xxxiii, 188). Notwithstanding their glittering public offices, they continued to carry on the business their father had established, using the firm here recited, which had been in effect during the founder's life time. Both the brothers Nelson were horsemen as was William's son, Thomas Nelson, jr., 'the Signer;' but the importation of Vampire seems to have been on commission in the regular course of business.

William Nelson (1711-1772) was, after service as a Burgess for York, raised to the Council in 1745 and, becoming, in due

course, 'President' by seniority, had the fortune to act as Governor of the colony in the interval (1770-71) between the death of Lord Botetourt and the arrival of Lord Dunmore.

We have seen that he was active in organizing the Virginia turf in 1746. He was too an importer of horses on his own account, e. g., 'the late Mr. Nelson's Spanish Barb' mentioned in an advertisement in VG, December 11, 1779.

Thomas Nelson (1716-1782), who was bred a member of the Inner Temple (1733) and of the English bar, is usually styled 'the Secretary' because in 1742, on the death of John Carter, he invested in, and long thereafter served, the lucrative office of *custos rotulorum* of the colony. Like his elder brother, he too was raised to the Council (1749) and survived to become, in 1775, its last President under the crown. In 1782, just before his death, the Marquis de Chastellux visited him in Hanover whither he had retired after the destruction of his house at Yorktown during the last dramatic scene of the Revolution, and brought away an engaging picture of 'an old magistrate whose white locks, noble figure and stature, which was above the common size, commanded respect and veneration . . . he lives happily on one of his plantations where, in less than six hours he can assemble thirty of his children, nephews, nieces, &c.'

Secretary Nelson was himself the importer of the mare Blossom (*q. v. post*) and the owner of her son Lonsdale who is a cross in many pedigrees.

John Syme has already been noticed under Juniper.

1764 *Young David* (GSB, i, 89) *Meriwether Smith of Essex*

'Ld. Gower's David' was another of the descendants of the Godolphin in John Baylor's list of 1763. It appears that, like Fearnought and Vampire, this horse also duly reached Virginia. Advocate notes him in Annals and twice elsewhere. He had before him (AF, x, 68) an otherwise lost advertisement of May, 1765, signed Meriwether Smith, which he summarized as 'David, a fine bay horse, fifteen hands high, well made, (no pedigree given,) but imported, and descended from the best stock of horses in England.' Later (AF, x, 71) he supplied the breeding [duly confirmed by Bruce from GSB, i,

89] as 'foaled in 1756, bred by Lord Gower, by the Gower stallion [a son of the Godolphin]: dam by Fox cub: Mr. Honeywood's True Blue: a sister to Pelham's Little George, by the Curwen Bay Barb.'

Edgar, who also gives the correct breeding, adds that David was 'imported into Virginia about the year 1763.' It seems probable that he was imported contemporaneously with Fearnought and Vampire.

There are no extant advertisements for this horse, and we find him named in only a few Virginia pedigrees. It is possible that he died soon after his importation.

Meriwether Smith (1730-1794) of 'Bathurst' in Essex, came of a long established Virginia family, originally of Gloucester (*W. & M. Quar.*, vi, 45). He took an active part in Revolutionary politics, being a member of the Virginia convention of 1776 and, subsequently, of the Continental Congress. James Monroe said of him: 'From the beginning [he] struck boldly and confidently for independence and nothing else.' A descendant paints his portrait: 'He wore a cocked hat, took much snuff when earnestly engaged in conversation, and had great influence and control over the people.' He is listed in the Essex census of 1783 as the owner of 124 slaves on two plantations. George William Smith, Governor of Virginia in 1811, was his son.

1764 *Bucephalus* (GSB, i, 50) *Archibald Ritchie of Essex*

Advocate says: 'Bucephalus, brown bay, 15½ hands high, foaled in 1758, was got by Sir Matthew Wetherton's horse Locust [a son of Crab]: his dam by Old Cade: Partner, &c. Bucephalus was a very strong horse, and stood at Tappahannock, Va. in 1765.'

Bruce said: 'We cannot find this colt;' but GSB (i, 50) notes a Bucephalus 'sent to America' of the breeding given by Advocate.

Elsewhere (AF, x, 86) Advocate carries his date of importation back a year and supplies the name of the importer by citing an advertisement otherwise lost, dated March, 1764, and signed Archibald Ritchie. This gives the pedigree as above, adding

that 'Bucephalus is now rising seven years old and very strong.'
To this we add the voucher of the following advertisement:

[1766, May 2, VG]

'Essex, April 30, 1766.

'Bucephalus a brown noted hunting horse, full size, stands at my stable, and will cover this spring at twenty shillings a leap, or forty shillings the season. Perhaps he is the surest horse that ever was on the continent. Gentlemen sent 15 mares to him last season some of which had gone by for many years, and others, twenty odd years old, all proved with foal.

'Archibald Ritchie.'

Archibald Ritchie (1725-1784) was a Scot who established himself as a merchant at Hobbes Hole (Tappahannock) on the Rappahannock, and there prospered. One of the liveliest pages in the diary of Philip Fithian pictures a ball at his house in 1774; when Fithian observed of his host that 'he has great influence over the people: he has great wealth.' He appears in the Essex census of 1783 as the owner of 75 slaves. In 1753 (*W. & M. Quar.*, xi, 240) he married a daughter of William Roane of Essex, and was the father (or the grandfather) of

Thomas Ritchie (1778-1854), the editor of the *Richmond Enquirer* newspaper from 1804-1845.

1764 *Regulus* (*Burwell's*) (GSB, i, 153)

Lewis Burwell of Mecklenburg

Advocate says (AF, x, 71): 'Regulus [was] formerly owned by Colonel Lewis Burwell, of Mecklenburg, Va., from whose son (Armistead Burwell) I received the following pedigree, who said he got it from amongst the papers of his father after his decease: He was foaled in 1747: got by Regulus (a son of the Godolphin Arabian): he was half brother to Bald Partner, by Smiling Ball, out of a Partner mare: her dam by Cupid: Hautboy: Bustler.'

Edgar says that Capt. Armistead Burwell gave him also, in 1815, the same pedigree; and he had also a certificate (1765) by Lewis Burwell, Senr.

Bruce confirms the breeding by reference to GSB (i, 153). This *Regulus* was therefore a half-brother to Fearnought.

There is a single advertisement to vouch for him:

[1766, April 18, VG]

'Jamestown, April 12, 1766.

'The high bred horse Regulus covers this season at 20s. a leap, or 3 l. the season. He was got by Regulus, his dam by Old Partner, which mare was the dam of Turpin. This horse was sold at the time that Lord Granby sold all his stud [Cf. Advocate's account of imp. Kitty Fisher, *post*], when a one year old colt, for 150 guineas, and the dam sold for 350 guineas: He is a beautiful bay, and in excellent order. Great care will be taken of the mares. There is excellent pasturage, and a very careful fellow that attends.

'John Harris.'

Lewis Burwell (1745-1800), son of Armistead Burwell and, in succession to him, of Stoneland, Mecklenburg County, was county lieutenant of Mecklenburg during the Revolution. (See George H. Burwell *Record of the Burwell Family*, Richmond, 1908). He is listed in the Mecklenburg census of 1782 with 61 slaves. He belonged to the 'Kingsmill' branch of the numerous and widely allied Virginia family of Burwell which was so picturesquely conspicuous during the governorship of Francis Nicholson.

1764 *Tom Jones* (GSB, i, 216)

Sir Marmaduke Beckwith of Richmond Co.

Advocate says: 'Tom Jones, a beautiful grey horse, fifteen hands and upwards high, bred by Mr. Crofts, foaled in 1745; got by Crofts' Partner: True Blue: Cyprus Arabian: Bonny Black: [Black Hearty: Byerly Turk]. This horse produced some capital racers in America, and amongst the rest, the famous running horses Black Tom and Smiling Tom, both out of imported mares. He was imported by Sir Marmaduke Beckwith, baronet, of Richmond County, Va., in the year 1765.'

Bruce confirms the breeding from GSB (i, 216). There is no extant advertisement to testify for this horse, but Edgar records a certificate (1765) by 'Marma. Beckwith.'

Sir Marmaduke Beckwith (1687-1780) was a younger son of a Yorkshire squire of ancient family who had been created a baronet by Charles II (1681). He emigrated to Virginia in 1709 while his maternal uncle, Secretary Edmund Jenings, was acting Governor, and after an apprenticeship in the Secretary's office secured an appointment as Clerk of Richmond County; a

post he held until 1748. In 1743 his older brother died *s. p. m. s.*, and Marmaduke succeeded to the baronetcy [the third in Virginia, the other two being Peyton and Skipwith] but to no estates in England. He had married a daughter of William Brockenbrough of Richmond County and lived out his life in Virginia. His son, Sir Jonathan Beckwith, is listed in the Richmond census of 1783 with 53 slaves. There are some delightful sporting reminiscences, quite in the manner of Joseph Addison or Washington Irving, of his grandson, Sir Jennings Beckwith, in ATR, v, 373. The English books of reference record that the baronetcy became extinct early in the nineteenth century (See, *e. g.*, G. E. C. *Complete Baronetage*, iv, 115); but it appears from the records of the family in America (P. Beckwith, *The Beckwiths*, 1891) that their male line has persisted.

Though it followed Joseph Morton's death, Beckwith's importation of Tom Jones by Crofts' Partner was clearly under the influence of Morton, who had married one of Beckwith's daughters.

1764 Bolton (GSB, i, 151) *Wm. Lightfoot of Charles City*

Advocate mentions this Bolton (AF, x, 86) only in passing, as 'a fine bay horse;' but here again Edgar supplies details: 'A bay horse bred by Mr. Meredith and formerly the property of Mr. Lightfoot, of Charles City County, Virginia; foaled in 1752. Got by Old Shock: Crofts's Partner: Makeless: Brimmer: Place's White Turk: Dodsworth: Layton Barb Mare. [Certificate] Virginia, 1769, William Lightfoot. He stood there in 1765.'

Skinner and Bruce both confirm this breeding by reference to GSB (i, 151). If Edgar's breeding of Baylor's Shock is correct, then Bolton was Shock's half brother, if not his full brother.

The following late advertisements also vouch for Bolton:

[1773, April 22, VG]

'Bolton stands at Sandy Point this season, and will cover mares at fifteen shillings the leap, and forty-five shillings the season. He is an imported horse, upwards of fifteen hands height, and a beautiful bay.

'John Pierce.'

[1774, April 14, VG]

'Bolton, a horse belonging to the estate of William Lightfoot, Esq.; deceased, stands at Sandy Point, in Charles City, and will cover mares at fifteen shillings the leap, and forty-five shillings the season. He is a beautiful bay, upwards of fifteen hands high, and is an imported horse.

'John Pierce.'

William Lightfoot (1724-1764), of Tedington in Charles City, eldest son of one of the wealthiest merchants in Virginia, who achieved a seat in the Council, himself began life as a merchant at Yorktown, being in 1747 a partner of Mordecai Booth, the importer of Janus (*Cf. Stubbs, Cooke and Booth Families*). He served the office of Sheriff of York County before his father's death, in 1748, put him in possession of a fortune, including the family estates at Sandy Point in Charles City which had belonged to his immigrant grandfather. Removing thither, he married and (after a visit to London, where he had his portrait painted 'in blue court dress,' *W. & M. Quar.*, iii, 110) thenceforth lived the life of a well-to-do planter, with incidental service in the House of Burgesses and ample opportunity to cultivate the agreeable art, learned from Mordecai Booth, of breeding and racing horses. It was his younger brother,

Armistead Lightfoot (1730-1771) of Yorktown (*W. & M. Quar.*, iii, 106), who was the original owner of Lightfoot's Partner (known in the Virginia tradition as Old Partner), 'the best son' of Morton's Traveller; and stood him on his plantations in Brunswick and Goochland before he passed into the stable of Thomas Mann Randolph of Tuckahoe. (See the advertisements, VG, 1767, March 12; 1771, May 3; 1772, March 12, April 16). In the next generation, the eldest son of William of 'Tedington', another

William Lightfoot (1750-1809), succeeded to 'Tedington' and there carried on the family tradition of horsemanship by importing a number of English horses after the Revolution; including the great Saltram (son of Eclipse) who won the Derby in 1783.

1765 *Merry Tom* *John Baird of Prince George*

Advocate says: 'Merry Tom, a beautiful bay, 4 feet 11 inches [i. e., 14 hands 3 in.] high, he was got by Regulus [one of the best sons of the Godolphin Arabian]: his dam by Locust, a son of Crab: his grandam by a son of Flying Childers, &c. Merry Tom stood in Prince George county, in 1767; he was the sire of the noted horse Smiling Tom.'

Bruce confirms the breeding from the Racing Calendar for 1764. The horse is not in GSB.

There is extant a complete record of this horse in advertisements extending from his importation to 1774. Although he was not of as much importance in relation to the future development of the Virginia horse as some other sires, the advertisements are here set out at length because they are full and illustrate the breeding practices of the day, viz:

[1765, September 19, MG]

'Just imported by Henry Mitchell [of Fredericksburg, merchant] and for sale at Fredericksburg in Virginia, a stallion and three mares of the highest blood, viz:

'Merry Tom, a. b. h. bred by Mr. Parker, of Newcastle. He is 14½ hands high, seven years old. He was got by Regulus: his dam by Locust, a son of Crab: his g. dam by a son of Flying Childers: his g. g. dam by Partner'

[1766, April 4, VG]

'Hallsfield, March, 30, 1766.

'Merry Tom stands at my house, and covers mares at a guinea the leap, or 5 l. the season; the mares shall have as good pasturage as I can provide for them, under a good fence, some part of which is sown in oats. Each mare that goes by the season shall have half a barrel of corn given her regularly, morning and evening, gratis, provided the money be paid by the 1st of April, 1767; and all mares whose covering amount to 5 l. shall have a discount of 10s. if I have no trouble with the mares, and the money be paid at that time. The horse was bred by Mr. Parker of Newcastle, is a beautiful bay, prettily marked, and thought by good judges inferior in shape to none on the continent. He is 14 hands two inches and near a half high, very strong and active. He was got by Regulus: his dam by Locust, a son of Crab: his grandam by a son of Flying Childers: his great grandam by Old Partner. His performances are: In 1762 he won 300 guineas sweepstakes at Rich-

mond, then 4 years old; in 1763 he won 50 l. at Durham, and the Noblemen and gentlemen's subscription at Cupar, then 5 years old.

'John Baird.'

[1767, April 2, VG] 'Prince George county, Hallsfield, March 30, 1767.

'The beautiful bay horse Merry Tom fourteen hands 2 inches and 3 fourths high, in great perfection, stands at my house, and covers mares at a guinea a leap, 3 guineas the season, ready money, or 4 l. 10s. twelve months hence, and 2s. 6d. a week for feeding the mares that are left, during their stay with the horse; none of the mares lost flesh last season, as I took care they were regularly fed twice a day with corn, nor did one get away; and the same care shall be taken with an addition of pasturage, the ensuing one. Greatest part of the mares that come to the horse prove with foal. The horse was got by Regulus; his dam by Locust, a son of Crab: his grandam by a son of Flying Childers: his great grandam by Old Partner. In 1762 he won 300 guineas sweepstakes at Richmond [in Yorkshire], in 1763 he won 50 l. at Durham, and the Noblemen and Gentlemens subscription at Cupar in Scotland.

'John Baird.'

[1768, April 7]

'Prince George, March 28, 1768.

'My horse Merry Tom, in high perfection, stands at my house and covers mares at a guinea the leap, or three guineas the season. A large discount for ready money. After the beginning of August he covers at 20s. a leap. I have provided plenty of provender for the mares that are to stay with the horse before grass comes, and they may depend they shall be duly fed for 2s. 6d. a week.

'John Baird.'

[1769, April 13]

'Prince George, Hallsfield, April 1, 1769.

'Merry Tom, in high perfection, stands at my house, and covers mares at a pistole a leap, and three pistoles the season. Mares that did not prove with foal last year will be covered this season for two pistoles. Particular care shall be taken of the mares that stay with the horse, for 2s. 6d. a week for feeding. Not one for these three years past has got away, and the same care shall be taken this. His foals are large, strong, beautiful, and active.

'John Baird.'

[1772, April 2]

'Hallsfield (Prince George), March 20, 1772.

'The high blooded bay horse Merry Tom, in great perfection, stands at my house to cover mares, at fifteen shillings a leap, forty shillings the

season, or three pounds ten shillings to ensure the mare with foal. His colts are strong, beautiful and active. I have pasturage for mares gratis, but will not be answerable should they be stole, or get away, though great care shall be taken to prevent it. Nothing of that kind has hitherto happened.

'John Baird.'

[1773, April 8]

'The beautiful bay horse Merry Tom stands at Captain Edward Wade's in Halifax County. He is in high perfection, and will cover mares at fifteen shillings a leap, forty shillings the season, or three pounds ten shillings ensurance. His colts are beautiful, strong, and active. Good pasturage gratis.

'John Baird.'

[1774, March 24]

'Prince George, March 10, 1774.

'Merry Tom, in great perfection, stands at my plantation to cover mares at 15s. the leap, and 40s. for the season, pasturage gratis. His colts are strong, beautiful, and active. I will not be accountable for such mares as may be stolen or get away, though the utmost care shall be taken of them, and none have ever been lost hitherto.

'John Baird.'

John Baird, of Hallsfield in Prince George, was one of that numerous succession of Scots factors who, after the act of union of the English and Scots crowns, found in the tobacco trade a strong attraction to Virginia, and so successfully cultivated their opportunity throughout the eighteenth century as to acquire much of the wealth, and, incidentally, many of the most charming women, of the colony.

As these Scots established the towns of Dumfries and Alexandria on the Potomac, so they established the towns of Blandford and Petersburg on the Appomattox. (See Dr. Philip Slaughter's lively notes in his *Bristol Parish*). When, in 1762, trustees were appointed for those two last named towns, John Baird was named one of the trustees of Blandfield, an office in which his son (who married a Batte) ultimately succeeded him (Hening, vii, 608; xi, 57). Unlike some of his countrymen, he remained in Virginia through the Revolution and, surviving until 1785, was then elected also a vestryman of Bristol parish on the organization of the incorporated Episcopal church.

1765 *Dotterel* *Philip Ludwell Lee of Westmoreland*

Advocate says (AF, x, 68): 'Dotterel was a high formed horse, 15½ hands high; a powerful strong boned horse. He was got by Changeling [proceeding with Sir John Pennington's certificate quoted below].'

Bruce admits the breeding by reference to the Racing Calendar for 1760, where Dotterel is noted to have been foaled 1756. The horse is not in GSB.

The following advertisements vouch for this horse:

[1766, June 6, VG]

'January 11, 1766.

'Dotterel will cover mares at Philip Ludwell Lee's at Stratford, in Westmoreland county this season for six pounds the season, or thirty-six shillings the leap.

'He was got by Changeling: his dam by a son of Wynn's Arabian: his grandam by a son of the Lonsdale Arabian: his great grandam by the Black Arabian: his great great grandam by a son of the Bay Barb, and out of the Barbon mare. J. Pennington's Changeling was as famous a horse as any in the world in every respect.' [Changeling was a full brother to Matchem, by Cade out of a Partner mare: Cade being a son of the Godolphin.]

'The above pedigree may be seen at Stratford in the handwriting and signed by Sir John Pennington in England, who bred him; he beat the best horses in England four mile heats, with twelve stone on him, a small time before he came away for Virginia: He is near 15 hands and a half high, a healthy, strong boned horse, and is of the sort most esteemed in Britain for a stallion, not too far removed from the original stock. Where the horse stands there are excellent pastures and meadows for mares.'

[1775, March 25, VG]

'For sale, the high blooded horse Dotterel. He is full 15 hands 3 inches high, and remarkable for the strength and beauty of his form, being in every respect worthy of his high descent, which is from the best stock in England, as may be seen by his pedigree, in the hand writing and signed by Sir John Pennington who bred him. The gentlemen of the turf are well acquainted with Dotterel's performances in Great Britain, and that he was esteemed the swiftest horse in England (Eclipse

excepted). He is remarkable sure for getting colts, and they are uncommonly beautiful and fit for the turf or road. The above mentioned pedigree may be seen, and the terms of sale made known to any person inclined to purchase by applying to the steward at Stratford, the seat of the late Hon. Philip Ludwell Lee, Esq; in Westmoreland County.'

The name of this horse, like that of Bulle Rock, is strange to modern American ears. In England there is a plover called 'dotterel,' from the verb 'to dote,' because the bird suffers itself to be easily caught. Thence the designation is transferred to a foolish person, a dolt or dotard.

Philip Ludwell Lee (1727-1775), eldest surviving son of President Thomas Lee of Stratford, and brother of the 'Signers' Richard Henry Lee and Francis Lightfoot Lee was admitted to the Inner Temple in 1749. On his return to Virginia he established himself at Stratford and was raised to the Virginia Council.

1766

*Sterling [Evans']**William Evans of Surry*

Advocate says: 'Sterling, a fine dapple grey, foaled in 1762, was got by the Bellsizes Arabian [etc., giving the substance of the Simpson certificate quoted *post*]. He became famous as a valuable foal getter. He was owned by Wm. Evans, and stood in Surry County, Va. in 1768. He did not exceed 15½ hands in height.'

Edgar adds that this horse was 'called also Starling, from his being of the same colour of an English bird of that name,' and appends a breeding certificate: 'Surry County, Va., Feb. 1768, William Evans.'

Bruce admits the pedigree, but adds: 'We cannot find the above colt.'

The following advertisements vouch for this horse:

[1768, February 18, VG]

'February 16, 1768.

'The famous dapple grey horse, Sterling, will stand to cover this season at Mr. Robert Hunnicutt's in Surry county, at 20s. the leap, or 3 l. the season; the money to be paid to the keeper, on or before the

first day of October next, or pay interest for the money, if further credit. All mares to be taken away when notice shall be given, that they are done with the horse, or pay to the keeper 1s. 6d. for the first week, and 2s. 6d. for every week after. There is good pasturage, and everything necessary for the reception and keeping of mares.

'This is a true copy of Sterling's pedigree, given by Mr. Simpson of London, of whom I purchased the horse, according to register. 'Sterling, now rising two years old, was got by the Bellsiz Arabian, (which horse I offered fifteen hundred guineas for, at his landing in England, but was refused; afterwards he was lent to our company to breed from) out of my Snake mare; she was got by Bows's Snake; Snake was got by the Lister Turk, out of the Duke of Cumberland's Cato's dam; her dam by Mr. Hodgson's horse; her grandam by Nephewson, out of Mr. Shirley's famous old mare; she was bred by Mr. Crofts at Raby in Yorkshire, and sold to the Duke of Cleveland. J. Simpson, Nov. 24, 1764.

'William Evans.'

[1771, March 21, VG]

'Sussex, March 10, 1771.

'The English horse Sterling, imported some years ago by Captain William Evans, is full fifteen hands and a half high, well proportioned, and in good order, will stand at my house this season, to cover mares on the following terms namely: ten shillings a leap, twenty shillings the season, and forty shillings to ensure a colt. I have a large pasture, under a good fence; and great care will be taken for such mares as are sent to the horse, but will not be liable for those which may get away.

'David Mason.'

William Evans of Surry, the importer of this Sterling, was an enterprising horseman, for he is recorded also as the importer of the noted mare, Silver (See ATR, i, 524; Bruce, i, 118). He came of an established Southside planter family (*W. & M. Quar.*, vii, 245), and is listed in the Surry census of 1782 with 21 slaves.

David Mason, who advertised Sterling in 1771, was an 'old parliamentary hand'; the record being that he represented Sussex in the Assembly continuously from 1759 until his death in 1783. He is listed in the Sussex census of 1782 with 38 slaves. The Richard Mason who published the *New Pocket Farrier* in 1801 was probably his son.

1766 Koulikhan ?Theodorick Bland, jr., of Prince George

This horse is one of the unsolved mysteries of the Virginia stud book. Advocate ignores him, and Skinner enters him, 'pedigree unknown.' There are several unsatisfied enquiries for his breeding in AF and ATR. Edgar was, however, undaunted,³⁰ saying:

'We are informed by many creditable persons, and among them by the late Mr. [Leonard] Tunstall, of Franklin Co. North Carolina, that [this horse] was imported by the late Col. Baylor (*sic*) and sold to his father [William Tunstall of Halifax] about the year 1775 for a very large price, and that the said horse died in his possession; also, that his pedigree got burnt up in a house and he knew it not. Some considerable time past, in examining the papers of a very old gentleman, several years dead., we found the following pedigree, dated in 1779: 'He was a bay horse, imported in the year 1764 or 1765; got by Pearson's Partner, his dam by Lord Lonsdale's Koulikhan [foaled 1730; by the Lonsdale Bay Arabian out of a daughter of Old Crab's dam. GSB, i, 75]: Jigg: Curwen's Bay Barb: Curwen's Spot: White-legged chestnut Lowther Barb: out of the Vintner mare.'

As Col. Baylor died in 1772 and there is no evidence in his letter book or elsewhere to corroborate the attribution to him of a Koulikhan, it seems likely that Edgar's 'Col. Baylor' was one of his characteristic confusions in reading a MS.; and might fairly be emended to read 'Col. Bland.' The justification for this is that Edgar cites elsewhere (p. 415) certificates of Theodorick Bland (1775), T. Claiborne (undated), and

³⁰ Edgar has also a note of another and equally mysterious Koulikhan, foaled 'about the year 1795;' bred 'by the late Mr. Edward Webster of Amelia,' of which he said he had a pedigree, but 'declines publishing in this volume.' To this is appended an incidentally interesting certificate by John Randolph of Roanoke, viz:

'I do hereby certify, that the statement, respecting the chestnut running horse, called Koulikhan, kept by the late Mr. Wiltshire Binns, in Nottoway County, Va., to the best of my recollection, is true and correct. I rode Koulikhan once in a race, and beat one quarter of a mile, against a horse in Nottoway County, Va., whose name at this time I do not know. Koulikhan was as good a running horse as any, as far as he was tried. Koulikhan was raised by a poor planter, and never was tried to run until he was aged. His breeder was a religious man, and Koulikhan was put into the hands of his kinsman, the late Mr. Wiltshire Binns, to run, and he ran several times with success, and then was kept as a covering horse.

'Given under my hand and seal, this 30th day of Oct. 1830.—J. R.'

Edward Horton (1817), which he apparently derived from the MS. of Theophilus Feild, for the Virginia mare, Quaker Lass. Thereby it appears that that mare, foaled 1769, was bred by Col. Bland; that she was got by imp. Koulikhan out of Byrd's imp. Blazella; that Col. Bland sold her to Col. Claiborne, who in turn sold her to Capt. Horton; and, finally, that 'she was considered to be the finest looking mare in Virginia of her day.' There is, too, other such evidence for the existence of a horse of this name. Thus a certificate (1824) by James S. Green for his Virginia horse Sterling shows a cross of about the same time (1769) of imp. Koulikhan upon a mare by White's Dabster.

Bruce made a futile effort at a solution of the problem. For his list of imported horses he drew from GSB: 'Koulikhan, b. c., foaled 1772 by the Vernon Arabian, bred by Lord March;' who does not fit the dates at all.

On the entire record two things seem proven; (1) that there was a Koulikhan on the Appomattox as early as 1769, and (2) that a horse of that name later belonged to the Tunstalls before 1775; but whether these records were of the same horse, and whether either was imported, there is no proof.

Theodorick Bland, jr. (1742-1790) of 'Cawson's' in Prince George, the third of his name in Virginia, was educated at Wakefield Grammar School in Yorkshire, and at Edinburgh, where he graduated in medicine. Returning to Virginia in 1764, he commenced practice as a physician; but horsemen have remembered him rather as an enterprising breeder. The disappearance of his private stud book, to which Theophilus Feild and Edmund Ruffin (the agriculturist) apparently had access, is lamented; for it is believed to have recorded the long sought evidence for the identification of the mare known as Bland's Duchess, and might be expected to clear up doubts as to several English horses which are reputed to have stood on the Appomattox prior to the Revolution, including the dubious Koulikhan.

Dr. Bland was active in promoting the Revolution in Virginia. He served in the Continental army and distinguished himself at the battle of Brandywine. Promoted Colonel, he was later in command of the camp of the Saratoga convention prisoners interned in Albemarle. A member of the Continental Congress, 1780-83, he sat also in the Virginia Convention of

1788 and, later, in the First Congress of the United States. See Grigsby, *Virginia Convention of 1788*; Campbell, *Bland Papers*.

William Tunstall, sr. (d. 1795), who gave the certificate of 1779 cited by Edgar, was a representative of that family of Richard Tunstalls who throughout the eighteenth century served the office of Clerk of King and Queen County (*Va. Mag.*, xiv, 124, 437, 444). With his brothers, Thomas and Leonard, he migrated to Halifax County, where Thomas certified in 1774 that (in his family tradition) he had been deputy Clerk 'for many years' (Carrington, *Halifax County*, p. 341). William and Leonard apparently lived in that part of Halifax which was eventually (1776) included in Henry County, for William Tunstall was County Lieutenant of Henry during the Revolution. This branch of the Tunstalls later moved to North Carolina, as appears from Edgar's statement.

1769 *Eclipse* [*Harris's*] (GSB, i, 40) *Wm. Harris of Powhatan*

Advocate ignores this horse. Edgar says: 'A well formed bay horse 15 hands 3 inches high; imported by Col. Harris, of Va. and called 'Harris's Eclipse.' Got by Crofts' Partner: Bloody Buttocks: Greyhound: Makeless: Brimmer: Place's White Turk: Old Dodsworth,' and adds a [Certificate] 'Va. 1769, William Harris, James Wilson, George Hobson. He died on Meherrin river, Va., in 1771.'

Skinner confirms the fact of importation and accepts Edgar's pedigree. Bruce cannot 'vouch for the accuracy' of that pedigree, but, assuming it, takes this horse to be the foal thrown by Bay Bloody Buttocks in 1747, as shown in the GSB record (i, 40) of the produce of that mare.

There are no advertisements to vouch for this horse and, in consequence, he has been confused with his successor in the Milwood stud, the same owner's native bred Harris' Eclipse (foaled, 1770, by Fearnought out of Baylor's imported Shakespeare mare), who survived until 1790 (ATR, vi, 605).

The name of this horse has no immediate relation to his breeding; but was doubtless a colonial reflection of the fame

of the great son of Marske, foaled 1764, who was 'first and the rest nowhere' on the Turf at the time when William Harris imported his horse.

William Harris (d. 1794) of 'Millwood' in Powhatan was a descendant in the fourth generation of Capt. Thomas Harris an 'ancient planter' who came to Virginia in 1611 (*Va. Mag.*, iv, 249). He is recited in 1772 (Hening, viii, 606) as a vestryman of Southam parish, and in the Powhatan census of 1783 is listed with 34 slaves. His son,

Thomas Harris (1762-1815), also of Millwood, was in turn a horse breeder in the post-Revolutionary period.

1770 *Shadow* (GSB, i, 202)

Thacker Burwell of Mecklenburg

Advocate noted this horse (AF, x, 71), saying: 'Shadow, formerly the property of a Colonel Green. He stood in Mecklenburg, Va. and produced capital speedy and bottomed stock, and amongst the rest Galba.—Will any gentleman who can produce his true pedigree, publish it in the American Farmer?'

Edgar responded to this invitation, saying: 'A slim, pale bay horse, formerly the property of the late Thacker Burwell, Esq. bred by Lord [*sic*, he meant the Duke of] Northumberland; foaled in 1759. Got by Babraham: Bolton Starling: Coughing Polly by Bartlett's Childers: Counsellor: Snake: Luggs: Davill's Old Woodcock,' and added a [Certificate] 'Va. 1771, Thacker Burwell.'

Bruce admits this breeding by reference to GSB, i, 202.

There are no advertisements for this horse.

Thacker Burwell (1752-1783) of Mecklenburg, was a nephew of the importer of Burwell's Regulus (George H. Burwell, *Record of the Burwell Family*, Richmond, 1908). His record in relation to this Shadow is based altogether on Edgar and is in some confusion. It will be noted that in 1771, when Edgar attributes to him the certificate upon which we rest our importation date, Thacker Burwell was not yet of age. The date of the certificate is therefore suspect, and may have been 1781;

but, considering the Association of 1770, it is not probable that the horse was imported later than that year, and so may have had a previous owner in Virginia.

Thacker Burwell does not appear with his uncle in the Mecklenburg census of 1782, but the 'Mary Burwell' there listed with 88 slaves was probably his widow; for he had married, 1774, Mary, daughter of Gill Armistead of New Kent (*Va. Mag.*, ii, 230; *W. & M. Quar.*, vi, 101).

1770

*Oscar**John Banister of Dinwiddie*

Advocate notes this horse in his list of importations (AF, x) but gives no particulars. Apparently on the authority of Edgar, Skinner says: 'Bred by the Duke of Hamilton, by Young Snip,' and adds a note of an undated certificate by Neil Buchanan, Jr. In his other list he notes that Oscar stood in Cumberland County, Virginia, in 1777; to which 'Mason' adds the name William Gay.

As to the breeding, Bruce notes: 'We cannot find this colt.'

Oscar is interesting because he seems to have been of high repute on the Appomattox in the years immediately prior to the Revolution, and in consequence is a cross in many Virginia pedigrees. There are several advertisements to vouch for him:

[1774, March 24, VG]

'Oscar, a beautiful sorrel, fifteen hands three inches high, of an elegant form, great strength and activity, now stands at my plantation near Petersburg, and will cover the ensuing season at a pistole the leap, or three pistoles for the season.

'This horse was got by Young Snip: his dam by Lord Morton's Arabian: his grandam by Old Crab: his great grandam by the Bald Galloway: his great great grandam by Darley's Arabian, out of Bay Bolton's dam.

'Those who oblige me by sending mares may rely that the utmost care shall be taken of them.

'John Banister.'

[1775, April 1, VG]

'Oscar stands at my house near Petersburg, and will cover mares from this time till the end of the season, at a pistole the single leap, the money to be paid down, and three pistoles the season, payable in October.

He is a horse of great size and activity, a fine sorrel, and in high order. He was got by young Snip: his dam by Lord Morton's Arabian: his grandam by old Crab: his great grandam by the Bald Galloway: his great great grandam by Darley's Arabian, out of Bay Bolton's dam.

'John Banister.'

[1776, March 29, VG]

'March 29, 1776.

'Oscar, a beautiful sorrel, 5 feet 3 inches high (got by Young Snip, his dam by Lord Morton's Arabian; his grandam by Old Crab: his great grandam by the Bald Galloway: his great great grandam by Darley's Arabian, out of Bay Bolton's dam) and in high perfection stands this year to cover mares at Mr. Alexander Shaw's plantation at Monk's Neck, about 8 miles above Petersburg, in Dinwiddie County, where there are between 3 and 400 acres of as fine pasturage as any in the lower parts of the colony, great part of it being exceeding fine meadow. Mares that come by the season will be taken great care of, and returned in good order, but I will not be answerable for any that may escape. A pistole ready money, or a guinea if booked, for the single leap, or three pistoles by the season.

'Neill Buchanan, jun.'

John Banister (d. 1787) of Battersea in Dinwiddie, was probably the importer of Oscar. If so, his signature to the Association of 1770 must have been affixed almost immediately after the horse reached Virginia. He was the third of his name in the James River valley (*Va. Mag.*, xi, 164).

His grandfather was the scientist, whose accidental death (in 1692) while botanizing on the Roanoke was lamented by Robert Beverley (in the preface to his *History*, 1705) as depriving Virginia of a Natural History then in preparation.

His father, who lived on Hatcher's Run in what became Dinwiddie, was H. M. Collector of Customs for the upper James, and gave his name to Banister river, when he accompanied the second William Byrd on the *Journey to Eden* (1733).

The John Banister here immediately in question was an original trustee of Petersburg in 1762 (Hening, vii, 602), sat in the Assembly as burgess for Dinwiddie, 1765-1776, and as a representative of Virginia in the Continental Congress, 1777-79. He married, first, a daughter of Theodorick Bland, sr., of Cawson's, and, second, a daughter of John Blair of Williamsburg. His house, 'Battersea,' is described by the Marquis de Chastellux in 1782 as 'really worth seeing. It is decorated rather in

the Italian than the English or American style, having three principal entries, each of them supported by four columns.'

Neill Buchanan, jr., of Ettrick Banks in Chesterfield, was another of the Scottish factors on the Appomattox who put his roots into the Virginia soil. As a Petersburg merchant he appears in the Bristol parish vestry book in 1768-70. In the Chesterfield census of 1783 he is listed with 24 slaves. He married a daughter of Dr. William Gay of Henrico (Robertson, *Descendants of Pocahontas; Va. Mag.*, xxii, 107; xxiii, 94) and was, in consequence, a brother-in-law of Thomas Bolling (1735-1804) of Cobbs, and of that

William Gay of Cumberland who also stood Oscar.

1772 *Regulus (Dunmore's)* *The Earl of Dunmore*

Advocate did not know this horse; but Edgar lists him, saying: 'Formerly the property of Lord Dunmore, and supposed to have been brought from England by him. Got by the Godolphin Arabian: his dam unknown.'

Skinner apparently lacked confidence in Edgar's record for he did not list the horse; but Bruce, noting that he 'cannot find this colt in the Stud Book,' quotes Edgar's entry. In this case Edgar's reputation stands a test for, despite the confusion arising out of three horses of the same name at the stud in Virginia contemporaneously (the other two being a son of Fearnought, Fitzhugh's *Regulus*, and Burwell's imp. *Regulus*), there are extant advertisements to bear him out as to the existence of Dunmore's *Regulus*, even if they do not testify to the breeding, viz:

[1773, April 8, VG]

'The beautiful high blooded horse *Regulus* late the property of his Excellency Lord Dunmore, stands at the Falls Plantation, in Chesterfield County, and will cover mares this spring at twenty shillings the leap, or three pounds the season. Exceeding good pasturage for mares, and the greatest care shall be taken of them; but I will not be liable for any that may be stolen or stray away.

'David Patteson.'

[1774, March 31, VG]

'Regulus stands at my house [Whitby] in Chesterfield County, near the falls of James River, in order to cover mares at 20s. the leap, and 3 l. the season. Good pasturage for the mares, but I will not be liable for any that may be stolen, or get away.

'Robert Goode.'

[1775, March 25, VG]

'Regulus stands at my plantation in Chesterfield near the falls of James River, and will cover mares at 20s. the leap, or 3 l. the season. Pasturage gratis, but I will not be liable for any that may be stolen, or stray away.

'David Patteson.'

The final record of this Regulus is in the ownership of William Black of Chesterfield (see *ante*, Ranter), who advertised him in 1780 (VG, September 27) as then for sale for \$5,000.

John Murray (1732-1809), earl of Dunmore, was appointed Governor of New York, 1770, and transferred the following year to the same post in Virginia; where he remained until driven out by the Revolution in 1776. His importation of this Regulus may well have been an effort to break down the Association of 1770. If so, the effort was successful, for, despite the prohibition of the Association, he placed the horse in Virginia before 1773.

David Patteson, who first advertised this Regulus, makes his appearance on the record as a Scottish tobacco buyer doing business at the Manchester and Rocky Ridge warehouses in Chesterfield. The fact that he stood Regulus in 1773 at William Black's Falls plantation and that the horse ultimately turned up in the ownership of William Black suggests that Patteson was originally associated in business with Black (for whom see *ante* under Ranter). The advertisement of 1775 shows that by that year Patteson had himself become a landowner in Chesterfield. On that basis he threw in his lot definitely with the colony. In 1777 he is listed as First Lieutenant of Chesterfield militia under the Robert Goode who next advertised Regulus. Thereafter he succeeded to command of Goode's Company and with it was present at the battles of Guilford and Yorktown (McAllister, *Virginia Militia*). After the war he was employed by the Assembly on 'country

business' relating to the tobacco trade (Hening, x, 477; xi, 393; Shepherd, i, 265) and in 1783 is listed in the Chesterfield census with 29 slaves. He appeared again on the public stage in 1794 when, as 'Lieutenant Colonel Commandant' of the twenty-third militia regiment, he enforced a smallpox quarantine against Richmond which had been ordered by the Chesterfield county court, and left a record of good sense in the midst of popular excitement (*Cal. Va. State Papers*, vii, 34 ff. See also pp. 97, 145, and *ibid.*, viii, 346).

Robert Goode (1743-1800) of Whitby in Chesterfield, was the inheritor of the James River seat of his immigrant ancestor, and was a cousin (of a later generation) of John Goode of Mecklenburg (Janus) and Thomas Goode of Chesterfield (Lofty). See *Virginia Cousins*, p. 54. He married a daughter of Richard Bland of Jordan's ('the Antiquary'); was included in the Chesterfield commission for 1766 and following years; commanded a company of Chesterfield militia in 1777; sat in the Assembly, 1783-88, and in the Council, 1790-97. In the Chesterfield census of 1783 he is listed with 104 servants, the largest slave holder in a large slave holding county, except Francis Eppes, who reported 124.

1772 *Strawberry* (GSB, i, 387)

The Lord Fairfax of the Northern Neck

Apparently Advocate did not know this horse. The authority for him is the resourceful Edgar who says: 'The Fairfax Roan (alias Strawberry, alias The Strawberry Roan,) imported (it is believed) by the late Lord Fairfax into Virginia during (*sic*) the Old Revolutionary War. He was a Roan Horse, and ran in England five times: won at Stockton upon Tees, 50 £; at Manchester, 50 £, and at Northallerton, 50 £, in the year 1770—vide English Racing Calendar for the year 1770, pages 39, 69, 87, 122, 154. Strawberry was bred by Mr. Simpson; foaled in 1764. Got by Adolphus [son of Old Regulus]: his dam by Mr. Smith's Tartar (a son of Crofts's Partner): grand dam by Midge (son of Snake): Hip.'

Skinner echoes Edgar's tradition and Bruce approves the breeding from GSB, i, 387. There is no advertisement for this horse; but Edgar's tradition is supported by his quotation

(p. 482) of a certificate (January 13, 1775) by Theodorick Bland of 'Cawsons' that his Virginia mare Sukey Paget was 'got by [American] Dabster: Young Monkey: mare by imp. Fairfax Roan, alias Strawberry.'

If Lord Fairfax did in fact import this horse, the date seems to show that he did not sympathise with the Association of 1770 and followed Lord Dunmore's example in nullifying it.

Thomas Fairfax (1693-1781), sixth Lord Fairfax of Cameron, proprietor of the Northern Neck of Virginia, emigrated definitely to his proprietary in 1747 and there remained until his death. He resided for some years at Belvoir, in Fairfax, but after 1751 at Greenway Court in Frederick. He was an ardent fox hunter, but does not seem ever to have gone in for racing. He had, however, of right inheritance, the taste for horse breeding. Several of his ancestors in Yorkshire were noted horsemen. One of them (assumed by the modern English authorities to be the third Lord Fairfax, but more probably his grandfather) was the importer (to England) as early as 1635 of the horse known in the GSB (i, 388) as Fairfax's Morocco Barb, one of the earliest of the thirty-six oriental horses which contributed effectively to the making of the English thoroughbred (See von Oettingen's list); and the owner also of the mare Old Bald Peg (by an Arabian, out of a Barb mare, GSB, i, 14) who is the 'taproot' of Bruce Lowe's No. 6 family: the family to which imp. Diomed and imp. Priam belonged. Again, Ralph Thoresby, the Yorkshire antiquary, records in his diary a visit to this Lord Fairfax's father at Denton in 1702, when 'his lordship showed me the gardens, the hawks, horses, brood mares and foals, for which 80 l. has been refused (*Proprietors of the Northern Neck*, 1926, p. 121).'

1773

*Lofty**Thomas Goode of Chesterfield*

Advocate does not record a Lofty in Virginia; but in his roster of imported horses Edgar has a note to the effect that

'Lofty stood at the stable of the late Mr. Thomas Goode of Chesterfield County, Virginia, in 1762.'

This has the appearance of a lost advertisement; but if there was a Lofty in Virginia in 1762 he has left no other tes-

timony. On the other hand, the advertisements hereinafter recited authenticate a Lofty who challenges Edgar's date as either a misprint or a misinterpretation. That the latter may have been the case is suggested by the breeding Edgar gives his horse, viz: that of the 'Lofty, late Mr. Pantons, now Vane's' (GSB, i, 198), which was included in Col. Baylor's list of the descendants of the Godolphin still available in 1763 for export from England. There is, however, no evidence that that horse was ever exported: at all events he is shown to have been in the stud in England as late as 1769. Nevertheless, Bruce adopted both Edgar's identification of the imported horse and his note that he was in Virginia in 1762.

The extant advertisements for an imported Lofty in Virginia tell quite another story, viz:

[1774, March 23, PG]

'Lofty: imported from England last summer. Blood bay, 16 hands, snip, black legs, mane and tail. Got by Young Partner out of Mr. Hutton's celebrated mare Diana who won the purse at Hambleton, Doncaster and York. His grandam by Blaze, his great grandam by Childers. Stands at Ogdens at the Middle Ferry on the Schuylkill. Lofty, when in the possession of the Duke of Roxborough won his Majesty's plate of 100 gs. at Leith. He was lamed running at Durham and never started afterwards.'

In 1778 this horse stood at Maidenhead, N. J., and then migrated to Virginia, viz:

[1779, March 26, VG]

'Lofty stands at the subscribers about four miles below Chesterfield Courthouse to cover mares the ensuing season at 20 pounds the season and 9 £ the leap. The money to be paid when the mares are taken away. Lofty was imported by John Allen, Esq., of Philadelphia in 1773. He is 14 years old this spring, 16 hands high, remarkably strong and handsome, a fine blood bay with a star and snip. He was got by Lord Portmore's White Nose, which was a capital son of the Godolphin Arabian, out of Lord Bolingbroke's famous mare Molly Long Legs whose sire was Mogul, his grandam was got by Blaze, his great grandam by Childers. Lofty won while he was in the possession of Lord Bolingbroke a great sweepstake at New Market, and when in the

possession of the Duke of Roxborough, His Majesty's plate of 100 gs at Leath; his dam won the golden cup at New Market & purses at Hambleton, Doncaster and York.

'Thomas Goode.'

'I, Richard Clarke, being a native of England saw the horse known by the name of Lofty now the property of Thomas Goode, run at New Market England for the great sweepstake beating the Duke of An-caster's Young Blank & several others, and was deemed as good a four year old as any in England. The above Lofty was the property of Lord Bolingbroke.

'I certify that Richard Clarke came before me & made oath to the above.

'Thomas Worsham.'

The horse so advertised is not registered in GSB; and it will be noted that the two advertisements give different breed-ings, though they plainly refer to the same horse.

To avoid further confusion, it may be noted further that there was still another imported Lofty in America during the Revolution; namely, a horse by Snap, who had been raced in England, 1769-70, and is recorded, in advertisements but not by Bruce, at stud in South Carolina from 1771 to 1781.

Thomas Goode (1730-post 1803) of Chesterfield was a younger brother of John Goode of Mecklenburg, heretofore noted in his relation to Janus. Their family chronicler (*Virginia Cousins*, 1887, p. 43) does not mention his ownership of Lofty, but notes that he had an interest in several of the horses imported after the Revolution by John Hoomes of Caroline, viz: the great Diomed (imported, 1799); Archduke (imported, 1803); Precipitate (imported, 1803); and also in Sir Robin, a native son of the third John Tayloe's imported Robin Red-breast. He seems also to have been the importer of Shark (by Marske, GSB, i, 188). He is listed in the Chesterfield census of 1783 with 34 slaves. There are some pleasant reminiscences of this old time sportsman, by his son, John C. Goode, in ATR, iv, 115, which were reproduced by 'Frank Forester' and Trevathan.

1774

*Carver**Charles Mayle of Norfolk*

Advocate did not know this horse. Edgar says: 'A bay horse, with white down his face, imported about the year 1774, by the late Dr. Charles Mayle, near the Great Bridge, Norfolk County, Virginia. Foaled in 1770: got by Young Snap: Blank: Babraham: Ancaster Starling: Grasshopper: Sir M. Newton's Arabian: Pert: St. Martins: Sir E. Hale's Turk,' and adds a [Certificate] 'Va. Sept. 1776, Lydia Mayle.'

Skinner lists the horse, doubtless on Edgar's authority. Bruce admits the breeding, without citing any authority; but notes that he cannot find the sire of the eighth dam.

There are no advertisements to vouch for this horse; nor any other evidence to check Edgar's importation date. That date is therefore suspect in that it makes the importer of this horse a violator of the Association of 1770; something comprehensible in the cases of Lords Dunmore and Fairfax, but not of one who subsequently took part in the preliminaries of the Revolution.

Charles Mayle was a member of the Revolutionary County Committee for Norfolk in 1775 (*W. & M. Quar.*, v, 246). As appears from the fact that his widow signed the certificate for Carver in 1776, Dr. Mayle died in that year. In ATR, v, 56, there are some notes on the dispersal sale of his stud then held near Great Bridge; where his widow is listed as living at the Norfolk County census of 1785.



LORD GROSVENOR'S BROOD MARES AND FOALS AT EATON, 1760

CHAPTER FOUR

Twenty-one Immigrant Matrons

THE evidence for the clean bred mares brought to Virginia before the Revolution is meagre. That the surviving vouchers are fewer than for the horses with which they were mated is due to the fact that, like well conducted ladies of their times (such as Dr. Philip Slaughter mentioned in the preface to his *Bristol Parish*, as 'the gracious matrons whom we dare not name in print'), they were scrupulously kept out of the newspapers, by their owners. They only achieved such publicity after death in advertisements of their descendants.

For lack of such aids to identification as the advertisements afford in respect to the horses, the Virginia testimony for the early imported mares is limited to pedigrees, eked out with oral traditions recorded by correspondents of AF and ATR after 1819. This evidence, duly assayed, was later crystallized in the American stud books; but in England, where their brothers and sisters are enrolled, that dignity is denied to many of our earliest immigrant mares. This neglect is due in some cases to confusion caused by changes of name (if not complete anonymity) and, in more, to the fact that the emigrant matrons so passed over left behind them in England no produce to speak for them to the editor of GSB when, long after they had emigrated, that golden book came into existence (1791).

Incomplete, and in part doubtful, as it probably is under these conditions, we can make up a roster of no more than twenty-one imported mares,³¹ as follows:

³¹ *The unidentified taproots:* Many Virginia pedigrees trace back to the earliest imported horses and then end off, for good measure, with an anonymous 'imported thoroughbred mare.' These claims need not be taken more seriously than those for the equivalent 'natural Arabian mare' which ends so many of the earliest English pedigrees. More convincing are the Virginia pedigrees which find a taproot in such descriptions as: 'Col. Nathaniel Harrison's favorite mare;' 'Mr. Wormeley's three quarter bred hunting mare;' 'Mr. Nelson's Spanish mare;' 'Col. Syme's half bred hunting mare;' 'Col. Chiswell's very fine imported hunting mare.' Again, there are certificates for otherwise unidentified mares, therein stated to have been imported, which are given names: 'Grenwell's mare;' 'Juliette;' 'Nelson's Hunt-the-Squirrel;' 'Oxnard's Muslin Face.'

1733 Clarke's Godolphin mare. Alexander Clarke of Gloucester

In Edgar's collection (p. 170) there were certificates by Alex. Clarke (1745); John White and Alex. White (1746); from which he deduced the breeding of the Virginia horse White's Dabster, as 'got by imp. Dabster: imported mare got by the Cooke [i. e., Coke] Arabian: Byerly Turk: Taffolet Barb: Place's White Turk: Natural Arabian mare.' To this is added a paraphrase (unfortunately not the text, as in the case of Gower's mare, *post*) from the Clarke certificate, viz:

'The above Godolphin Arabian Mare was imported in the year 1733 by Mr. Alexander Clarke and the first foal of that Arabian's get.'

This is doubly interesting; because it is the earliest authority for a clean bred mare in Virginia and because the credit of that mare to the Godolphin has verisimilitude in its use of his earliest English name, 'Cooke's Arabian;' but it needs more evidence to be convincing.

The Byerly dam assigned to this mare is, however, more persuasive than that assigned to Bulle Rock; for Sir W. Ramsden's Byerly mare (GSB, i, 5) was of the very breeding attributed to the dam of Clarke's mare. She is credited officially with three fillies, but GSB does not know of any mating with 'Cooke's Arabian.' We are therefore here left in the twilight of the earliest equine gods; for if the Ramsden mare (or a sister) was in fact mated with the Godolphin while he was still the property of Mr. Coke, the claim of a 'first foal' presupposes an otherwise unrecorded amour, antedating the classical occasion when Roxana preferred the Godolphin to Hobgoblin.

Doubtless for these considerations, and with a caution which he did not always exhibit in his identifications in GSB, Bruce evidently regarded the tradition of the breeding of the Clarke mare as mythological. That is comprehensible; but we cannot follow Bruce when he ignored the existence of the Clarke mare; and, without regard to the dates and the difference in breeding assigned by the certificates, credited to Walker's mare (*post*) the Virginia son here assigned to Clarke's mare. That there was a Clarke's mare, whatever her breeding, Bruce himself testifies in his entry of a 'mare imported 1733,' mated with Tayloe's Childers, as the taproot of Simcock's Independence;

and Edgar supplements this with his certificates for Aylmer's Acteon and Burns' Adelina, also derived from that mating with Childers.

1735 *Gower's Whitefoot mare* (GSB, i, 30)

John Gower of Richmond County

In his notice of the Virginia mare, Queen of Sheba (Dabster: Bulle Rock), Edgar (p. 416) includes the full text of the following certificate, viz:

'Gower's imported Mare, got by Whitefoot: Bald Galloway: Old Smales [Snail]: Darley's Arabian: Mr. Burdet's Young Child Mare, by the Harpur Barb: Old Child Mare, by Sir Thomas Gresley's Arabian: her dam by the Helmsley Turk: her dam was also the dam of Old Dodsworth.

'I do hereby certify that the above imported mare was foaled in 1732 and got by Whitefoot and bred by Lord Middleton [GSB says Sir T. Reade]. The pedigree there given is true and correct. I imported her in the year 1735.

John Gower.'

'Virginia, May 15th, 1757

This breeding matches into GSB; and is adopted by Bruce accordingly.

That the Gower certificate was current in Virginia before the Revolution appears from a certificate of 1785 (cited by Edgar, p. 366), given by John Coles of Albemarle, for the Virginia horse, Kimball's Nonpareil (by Fearnought out of a Janus) after that horse had passed into Mr. Coles' possession; which traces his breeding back to a taproot 'mare imported by Mr. John Gower in 1735.'

John Gower, the importer of this mare, was a son of Stanley Gower who died in Richmond County in 1732, the representative of a Gloucestershire family long established in the Northern Neck; and directly descended from Stanley Gower, rector of Brampton-Bryan, co. Hereford, during the Civil Wars.

1744 *Thacker's Forester mare* (GSB, i, 5)*James Thacker of Middlesex*

Certificates (cited by Edgar, p. 532) by James Thacker (1750); Samuel Benton (1754); Joseph Jackson (1757); and John Jackson (1759) give the breeding, adopted by Bruce, of the Virginia horse, White Stockings, foaled 1745, as by imp. Dabster, out of 'imported mare got by Crofts' Forrester: Bartlett's Childers: Honywood's Arabian: Byerly Turk.' This identifies the mare in GSB.

Thacker's mare was mated also with Tayloe's imp. Childers.

1746 *Mary Grey**Ralph Wormeley (1715-1790) of 'Rosegill' in Middlesex*

This granddaughter of Crofts' Partner is one of the Virginia foundation mares whose reputation has survived. Anderson, indeed, enumerating her distinguished descendants in Tennessee and Kentucky (including The Blue & Grey and Sweet Nellie Grey) says she 'became the most celebrated brood mare in America.'

A certificate by Francis Ruffin of Mecklenburg, incorporated in an advertisement (VG, 1776, March 13) of his Jolly Roger, gives the breeding of that horse as 'got by [imp.] Jolly Roger: his dam by Dabster: his granddam was the noted Mary Grey, imported by Ralph Wormeley, esq., remarkable for her speed.'

As to the breeding, Bruce says that the mare was got by Roundhead (son of Flying Childers) out of Ringbone (by Crofts' Partner); and adds the specification that she was foaled 1742, thereby showing that he identified her as Ringbone's foal of 1742, entered in GSB, i, 173.

This deduction, which apparently originated in a late confusion with the breeding of the same importer's Jolly Roger, is directly contradicted in eighteenth century certificates by Thomas Turpin and William Harris of Powhatan; Harry Gaines of King and Queen (VG, March 18, 1780); and Robert Goode of Chesterfield (1785, October 3, in *The Columbian*

Herald newspaper, of Charleston, S. C.), all of whom declared Mary Grey to be a full sister of [Bailey's] Young Sterling, and so by the Ancaster Sterling; which deprives her descendants of the Flying Childers cross claimed by Anderson.

The Turpin and Harris certificates, drawn from the collection of Mr. John L. O'Connor, are contained in an advertisement of 1779: which shows that Capt. Turpin had sent his Virginia horse, Fleetwood, to stand that season 'at Daniel Hunt's, Maidenhead, N. J.'; giving his breeding, as follows:

[1779, April 7, *New Jersey Gazette*]

'Fleetwood was got by Janus; his dam by Janus [which double Janus cross again contradicts Bruce], his grandam was the noted mare Poll Flaxen; she was got by Jolly Roger out of the highblooded imp. mare Mary Gray. Mary Gray was own sister to Young Sterling in England, and was bred by Mr. Crofts in Yorkshire; was got by Old [i. e., the Ancaster] Sterling. His [i. e., the Ancaster Sterling's] dam by Crofts' Partner out of the grandam of Lambton's gr. m. Miss Doe [*q. v.*, GSB, i, 223], which was by Crofts' Bay Barb: her dam by Makeless: her grandam by Brimmer: her great grandam by a son of Old Dods-worth [i. e., Dickey Pierson]: out of a Burton Barb Mare.

'Thomas Turpin [of Powhatan County, Virginia].

'I do hereby certify the above pedigree to be genuine.

'John Harris [of Powhatan County] Virginia, Oct. 1, 1778.'

This breeding of the Ancaster Sterling is that of Pick (i, 75); but it leaves us without an identification of the dam of his daughter Mary Grey. Turning, however, to GSB (i, 162) we find the dam of Young Sterling there entered as Red Rose, 'bred by Mr. Crofts in 1737, got by Partner, her dam by Greyhound out of Brown Farewell.' And yet we are still left without a sanctification of Mary Grey, for the GSB record of the produce of Red Rose shows no other foal by the Ancaster Sterling than Young Sterling himself.

There is difficulty also with the Virginia tradition (ATR, i, 54, 315) that Mary Grey was imported 1746. If so early a date is not necessary in respect to the successive matings of the mare with her importer's own horse, Jolly Roger (by whom she is reputed to have had seven filly foals), it takes colour from the attribution of a mating with Dabster; and it is not impossible with reference to the floruit of the mare's putative

dam, Red Rose. On the other hand, however, there is a shred of evidence which tends to suggest a later importation date, viz: an advertisement by William Black of Chesterfield (VG, 1780, September 27), offering for sale 'the fine imported mare Mary Grey.' If this was the Mary Grey here in question, and she was in fact imported 1746, she must have been more than thirty-four years of age in 1780.

1747 *Merry Lass*

Nathaniel Harrison (1703-1791) of 'Brandon'

Bruce's record of this Barb mare, that she was 'called also Lovely Lass; imported by Peter Randolph [1713-1767, of 'Chatsworth' in Henrico]; pedigree cannot be identified' seems to have been derived from the many Southside and Carolina pedigrees which trace to a taproot in 'an imported mare of Peter Randolph, Esq., called Merry Lass.' Other evidence suggests that those pedigrees represented a confusion.³² Thus Edgar (p. 280, s. v. Junius, a Virginia horse bred by Nathaniel Harrison and foaled 1770) has a circumstantial and convincing statement by Edward Wyatt, sen., of Dinwiddie, recorded by Theophilus Feild in 1808, from which it appears that 'Mr. Nathaniel Harrison's imported Spanish mare called Merry Lass' was mated with imp. Monkey (who died 1754) and produced a filly (unnamed, but probably Lovely Lass), which filly 'was sold to Peter Randolph, Esq. . . . and afterwards to Peter Jones [of Petersburg] who gave a lot of ground in that town for her.' As it happens, there is confirmation of this Wyatt statement in an advertisement (VG, 1776, March 15) by William and Edward Watts of Prince Edward, who (as Edgar noted) purchased Junius from Mr. Wyatt. Therein the breeding of that horse is given in detail as 'got by Yorick: his dam by Othello: his grandam by Monkey: his great grandam a mare of the old Spanish breed, called Merry Lass.'

³² Many of these pedigrees, compiled after the Revolution, credit Merry Lass to Peyton Randolph (1721-1775), the sober Williamsburgh lawyer and Revolutionary statesman. This confusion was doubtless due to the fact that when those pedigrees were made his name was more familiar than that of the earlier 'Esquire.'

1748

Britannia

George McNaught of New Kent

The surviving record of this Bartlet's Childers mare (Bruce, i, 76) begins with two certificates (1769) by James McNaught of New Kent, cited by Edgar, pp. 206, 232. Therein the Virginia horses, Gamester (by Silver Eye) and Evander (by Daingerfield's Gift), are both given a Virginia taproot in 'an imported mare got by Bartlet's Childers: Godolphin Arabian: Byerly Turk: Taffolet Barb.' Gamester was bred by George McNaught; and Evander by James McNaught. To the certificate for Evander is appended a note that the mare here in question 'was imported into Virginia by Mr. [James] McNaught's uncle, from Bristol in England, in 1748;' while another (1775) for Jolly Friendship (Edgar, p. 277) specifies that the importer was 'the late George McNaught, Esqr.' The mare's name, as well as a further detail of her provenience, are supplied by a certificate (1774) for Young Bajazette (Edgar, p. 101), which traces the breeding of that horse to a mating of Booth's Janus with 'a thoroughbred imported mare purchased from the stud of King George II by the late Mr. Spann of Bristol. She was called Britannia.'

It will be noted that the breeding attributed to Britannia's dam is the same as that attributed to the Clarke mare (*ante*).

Bruce notes that this mare was mated with Monkey, Silver Eye, Janus and Othello; to which the breeding of Golding's Fox and Branham's Otho add Tayloe's Childers.

1751 *Jenny Cameron*

William Byrd III (1728-1777) of 'Westover' in Charles City

The earliest extant American evidence for this mare is the record (1752, December 21, MG) that she ran fourth in the first Virginia-Maryland intercolonial race at Gloucester race ground on December 5, 1752—the memorable race in which Tasker's Selima defeated Byrd's Tryall. She was then entered as 'Col. Tayloe's b. m.' This is followed by advertisements:

[1764, April 19, MG]

'The famous horse Tom Jones will stand this season at Mr. John Allen Thomas' in Talbot County [Maryland] and will cover mares at 2½ guineas the season. Tom Jones was bred by Col. John Tayloe in

Virginia. He was got by Sir Marmaduke Beckwiths horse of the same name that was the property of Mr. Carr; his Dam is Betty Blazella, she by Blaze out of Jenny Cameron. Jenny Cameron was bred by Mr. Hodson out of a mare of Mr. Witty's and got by Captain Appleyards Cuddy son of Fox Jenny Cameron won the eighty guineas at Lincoln and was covered by Blaze before she was sent out of England which produced Betty Blazella who was foaled in Virginia.'

[1766, May 30, VG]

'Yorick's . . . grandam was Jenny Cameron: she was got by Cuddy, a son of Fox out of a high bred mare of Mr. Whittys (*sic*), and won a Ladies Plate at Lincoln in 1748.'

These advertisements were apparently based on certificates by John Tayloe II; and Bruce gives still another (1773) of the same provenience, to-wit: that Jenny Cameron was 'got by Quiet Cuddy (son of Old Fox) out of Mr. Witty's famous mare Cabbage-arse,' adding the comment that this certificate cannot be substantiated in GSB. This is true; but pursuing the clew afforded by the above quoted advertisements, Mr. John L. O'Connor has turned up Cheny's *Racing Calendar* for 1748 and there found the record of the victory at Lincoln in the Ladies' Plate for six year olds of 'Mr. Hodson's Jenny Cameron, by Cuddy, son of Fox;' which seems at once to establish her paternity and to fix the date of her foaling as 1742.

As to the dam, the record is not so neatly proven. Quite apart from the Tayloe testimony, there is, however, evidence for another eighteenth century tradition embedded in Edgar's records of Jenny Cameron's daughter, Pompadour (p. 404), and her granddaughter, Quaker Lass (p. 415). This is traced back through certificates, collected by Theophilus Feild, of Edward Horton (1817), Theodorick Bland, jr. (1775), to William Byrd III (1765, 1768), all of whom testified that Jenny Cameron's dam was 'Miss Belvoir, called the cabbage arsed mare, got by Grey Grantham.' This is definite enough, but, even if it is correct, unfortunately for the sanctification of Jenny Cameron's descendants, the GSB record (i, 129) of Miss Belvoir does not show any mating with Cuddy.

This last tradition also purports to identify Jenny Cameron's importer. Col. Bland's certificate (1775) for Quaker Lass (*ibid.*) adds that Jenny Cameron was 'imported by the late Col. William Byrd of Charles City County,' and William Claiborne of Sussex says the same thing in an advertisement (VG, 1776,

April 26) of his horse Romulus. This contradicts the accepted tradition that the importer was John Tayloe, who raced the mare in 1752; but it tends to explain how it was that Byrd's Valiant came to be mated with both Jenny Cameron and her daughter Blazella.

After she had passed into the Mount Airy stud, Jenny Cameron was mated also with Tayloe's Childers, Morton's Traveller, Tom Jones and Tayloe's Yorick, as Bruce shows.

1751 *Betty Blazella*

William Byrd III (1728-1777) of 'Westover' in Charles City

The tradition that this granddaughter of Flying Childers was imported in the belly of her dam, Jenny Cameron (*ante*) is confirmed by the last quoted advertisement. In consequence, Betty Blazella shares with her dam a lack of identity in GSB. There is, however, no doubt as to her breeding, for there is a certificate (1769) by John Tayloe II, the ultimate owner of the mare, directly in point (Edgar, p. 497). There it is again recited that Blazella's son, Young Tom Jones, was 'got by imp. Tom Jones: imported mare Blazella *by Blaze* [son of Flying Childers, and the sire also of Tayloe's Childers, likewise imported 1751], out of the imported mare Jenny Cameron, by Cuddy.' It will be noted that Col. Tayloe does not here claim to have been the importer.

Bruce approves this breeding. His list of Blazella's produce shows that she was mated first with Byrd's Valiant, then, with the mysterious imp. Koulikhan; and after she had been transferred to Mount Airy, with Morton's Traveller (who got Tayloe's Yorick upon her); with Tom Jones; and Nonpareil (son of Fearnought).

1754 *Miss Colville (alias Miss Barforth, or Wilkie's mare),*
(GSB, i, 128). *John Colville (1700-1755) of 'Cleesh'*
in Fairfax

This mare, misinterpreted by GSB and ASB, has been convincingly identified as a daughter of Crofts' Partner.

In Littlebury Hardyman's advertisement (VG, 1771, March 21) of the Virginia horse, Lee's Mark Anthony, he says,

'Spark's dam was Miss Colvill.' Edgar's record (p. 58), which was adopted by Bruce, of the Maryland horse so referred to, to-wit, Ogle's imp. Spark, is based on certificates by Lord Baltimore (undated) and Littlebury Hardyman the younger (1776); and gives the breeding as

'got by Honeycomb Punch: his dam was Wilkes (*sic*) Old Mare, called Miss Colville (also imported into America, by the late Col. Colville of Va.): Old Hautboy: Brimmer.'

The GSB (i, 383) record of Spark tends to bear out this breeding, in its statement that his dam was a 'Wilkes' Old Hautboy Mare, possibly Grey Wilkes'. As the English floruit of Grey Wilkes was 1712-1722 (GSB, i, 15, 11); and Miss Colville is recorded (by Bruce) to have foaled Young Traveller (by Morton's Traveller) in America in 1756, this identification has been questioned by other equine genealogists. But it has remained for Mr. John L. O'Connor to contribute constructive criticism. With the acumen of a Bentley, he has emended the 'Wilkes old mare' in Spark's pedigree to read 'Wilkie's mare.' The GSB record (i, 126) of the last named fits the American dates neatly; for the last foal of 'Wilkie's mare' in England is dated 1754.

Miss Colville was thus a sister to the dam of our Jolly Roger (GSB, i, 152).

1756 *Jenny Dismal*

John Baylor (1705-1772) of 'Newmarket' in Caroline

This granddaughter of the Godolphin is not identified in GSB; nor do Col. Baylor's references to her in his surviving letter book altogether make good that deficiency; viz:

To Thomas Hales, August 6, 1761:

'Five years past I imported a very fine mare [by] Dismal [out of a] daughter of Lord Godolphin's Whitefoot. She brought me two very fine colts by Sober John, and a filly by old Jolly Roger, formerly the Duke of Kingston's: he ran well in 1749.'

To Sydenham & Hodgson, August 6, 1763:

'I am much encouraged [to import more mares] by the great advantage I have made by the one [Jenny Dismal] formerly sent me; having bred ex'y colts and filleys for her; two of which I sold this spring for £530.'

The Dismal: Whitefoot breeding is confirmed by an advertisement (VG, 1776, April 19) by William Black of Chesterfield of Fitzhugh's Regulus, in which the breeding of that Virginia horse is given as 'got by Fearnought, out of Jenny Dismal, who was got by Old Dismal . . . his sire was the Godolphin Arabian. Jenny Dismal's dam was got by Lord Godolphin's Whitefoot.'

Again, there is a certificate (1780) by John Baylor the younger (cited by Edgar, p. 239) that Fearnought's son, Godolphin (advertised in VG, 1775, March 18), was out of the 'imported mare Jenny Dismal, by Old Dismal: Whitefoot.'

Finally, another such voucher supplies the precise identification of Jenny Dismal's dam, which Bruce adopted, as the Whitefoot mare Diana (GSB, i, 77): viz: an anonymous certificate (1759), cited by Edgar (p. 30) in his record of Dormouse (the horse he alleges to have been imported into Virginia and which Bruce dared to identify as the horse of that name listed in GSB, i, 77). This gives a breeding as 'got by Old Dormouse, his dam by Whitefoot, dam also of the imported mare Jenny Dismal: Silverlocks by the Bald Galloway, etc.'

Bruce's record of the produce of Jenny Dismal shows that she was mated with Jolly Roger and with all Col. Baylor's own horses, Sober John, Shock and Fearnought. By the last named she produced Specimen and Showman, in addition to the colts, Godolphin and Fitzhugh's Regulus, mentioned above; and a filly, Betsy Pringle.

1756 *Calista*

William Byrd (1728-1777) of 'Westover' in Charles City

Bruce's notice of this mare identifies her as the unnamed filly bred by George Grisewood, foaled 1765, by Forester out of the Crab: Hobgoblin mare listed in GSB, i, 67. There is no

authority given for this, and on checking the produce of the mare listed by Bruce against Edgar's cache of breeding certificates, the curious and unusual fact appears that in no case did any breeder from this stock attempt to carry a pedigree back of 'Col. Byrd's imported mare Calista.' She is acknowledged to be an absolute taproot for her descendants.

The only date assigned to this mare by Bruce is that, derived from Edgar, of the foaling of her son Mercury (by Janus) in 1769. Arguing from his identification of the mare, Bruce not unreasonably assumed that all her other produce were of a later date. It now seems likely that they all preceded Mercury; for Mrs. William Byrd's letter to her husband, May 13, 1757 (quoted *ante* under Valiant), says: 'My Calista has a very fine filly.' On this, Mr. John L. O'Connor suggests that Byrd's Calista was 'the mare that won a race or so in England for James Dawkins in 1749 and 1750, a mare that had been used before her racing career as a hunter;' and he conjectures on that hypothesis that she was imported at the same time with Byrd's Tryal and Valiant, 'their ages not differing widely.'

Bruce notes from pedigrees that Byrd's Calista was mated with Janus; Morton's Traveller; Fearnought; Vampire and Nelson's Sloe (a grandson of Morton's Traveller). To this record may be added a certificate (1775) by William Byrd, drawn from the papers of Theodorick Bland of Cawson's (Edgar, p. 518), that Byrd's colt, Victorious, was 'by Fearnought: Valiant: imported mare Calista.' It may well be that the dam of Victorious was the very filly reported by Mrs. Byrd in 1757.

1757 '*Duchess (alias Diamond)*'

John Spotswood (1725-1758) of 'Newpost' in Spotsylvania

This Cullen Arabian mare is of peculiar interest because she is a taproot in the disputed Lexington pedigree; but, despite the research to which that fact has given rise, her record is, unfortunately, still in confusion. Even the two names assigned to her, the one by Edgar and the other by Bruce, are questionable.

In his *Thoroughbred Horse* (1892, p. 58) Bruce elaborates his earlier stud book notes as to this mare, saying:

'Duchess (Bland's), called also Diamond, was foaled about the year 1755 or 56 and imported to America by Gen. Alexander Spotswood. She was by the Cullen Arabian (as also was Jack of Diamonds, imported at the same time); her dam Lady Thigh (Grisewood's) by Crofts' Partner, son of Jigg by Byerly Turk.

'Duchess was the dam of [Spotswood's] Apollo and his sister, by the imp. [Morton's] Traveller, son of [Crofts'] Partner; a filly by imp. Juniper; a filly by [N. Harrison's] Junius; a filly by imp. Jack of Diamonds; True Whig by Fitzhugh's Regulus, son of imp. Fearnought; and a filly by imp. [Burwell's] Regulus, son of Regulus by the Godolphin Arabian. This blood is transmitted to us through her two daughters by Jack of Diamonds and imp. Regulus.'

It may be noted that the GSB record (i, 112) of Grisewood's Lady Thigh shows that she was mated four times with the Cullen Arabian, producing to him two colts and two fillies between 1749 and 1753; but in other respects Bruce's statement gives iterated evidence of reliance upon the most fallible of Edgar's records; namely, those relating to the horses of the Rappahannock valley, and is subject to cumulative criticism, viz:

(1) It is not proven that Spotswood's Cullen Arabian mare, and the mare called in many old pedigrees 'Bland's Duchess' (because she belonged either to Col. Theodorick Bland of 'Cawsons' or to his cousin, 'English John' Bland of Blandford), were identical.

(2) Following the argument as to the ownership of Jack of Diamonds (*q. v. ante*), Bruce's identification of the importer is questionable. It is a translation of Edgar's 'late Col. Spotswood' into 'Gen. Alexander Spotswood,' apparently for no more convincing consideration than that the last named worthy eventually owned the mare. As several correspondents in ATR credit Gen. Alexander Spotswood (1746-1818) with breeding his Apollo, foaled 1767, he may well have owned her dam when he returned to Virginia from his education in 1766; but the record of her matings suggests that she was in Virginia before that date. It is persuasive that the mare was imported in 1757 by Col. John Spotswood (1725-1758) with Jack of Diamonds, as Bruce states; and came to his son by inheritance.

(3) Bruce's attribution to Morton's Traveller of the paternity of Spotswood's Apollo seems to have been derived from Edgar; who cited (p. 89) as his authority a certificate alleged to have been made in 1777 by Richard Elliott of Brunswick. This Elliott was a member of the Spotswood family and is shown by advertisements (VG, March 11, 1775; May 17, 1777) to have stood Apollo on his plantation for several years. He did not give the breeding of the horse in the earlier advertisements, but in 1777 (VG, March 7) he did, describing Apollo as

'got by Fearnought: his dam by the Cullen Arabian: her dam was the noted mare called Lady Thygh, got by Partner: her grand dam by Greyhound: her great grandam by the Curwen Bay Barb, which mare was the dam of Sophanisba remarkable for her high form and great speed. *This pedigree of Apollo's dam was attested by His Grace the Duke of Kingston.*'

If this was Edgar's authority, it will be noted he misquoted it. Bruce should have had warning of this, for Advocate, as usual more reliable than Edgar, included Apollo in his list of Fearnought's sons (see *ante*).

(4) Another count against Bruce is that his stud book entry of this Cullen Arabian mare attributes to her a filly by Lindsay's Arabian. This seems to be a confusion of the facts that John Spotswood, younger brother of Gen. Alexander Spotswood, being the owner of Apollo's full sister, bred her to Lindsay's Arabian, by whom she produced, in May, 1792, the Virginia horse known as Spotswood's Americus (see *Thoroughbred Record*, January 8, 1928).

If the private stud books or other breeding records of Gen. Alexander Spotswood or of Col. Theodorick Bland are still extant, and shall ever come to light, they may, happily, solve some of these problems. Until then, it would seem that this mare must remain an historical *streitfrage*.

1759 *Bonny Lass*

Mordecai Booth (1703-1763) of Gloucester

This mare was another granddaughter of the Godolphin. The certificates by William Byrd (1766) and Littlebury Hardyman,



BALD CHARLOTTE (fl. 1721-1727)

the younger (1779, 1796), for the Virginia mares, Hardyman's Young Bonny Lass (by Jolly Roger) and Polly Byrd (by Aristotle), give the breeding of the dam of the one, and the granddam of the other, as: 'imported mare Bonny Lass, by Blank [son of the Godolphin]: Bonny Lass by Snip [GSB, i, 41]: Lath: Easby Snake: Grey Wilkes by Hautboy' (Edgar, pp. 122, 402; and see AF, x, 32, 159).

On revision of his first facile identification of this mare with Old Bonny Lass (by Bay Bolton; GSB, i, 77, 41) Bruce admits the Blank breeding to be 'the true pedigree;' but the imported mare cannot be identified among the produce of the Snip mare listed in GSB.

The importer is identified by 'Councillor' Robert Carter of Nomini in his description of the taproot of his stud (bred from Young Jenny Dismal, by John Dismal), as 'a thoroughbred imported mare of Col. Mordecai Booth's of Gloucester.'

1759 *Kitty Fisher* (GSB, i, 30)

Carter Braxton (1736-1797) of 'Elsing Green' in *King William*

This granddaughter of the Godolphin on one side, and of that great 'plate' mare Bald Charlotte on the other, has left an enduring reputation, for she is a triple taproot in Boston's pedigree.

She was exported as a three year old, leaving no English record behind her, and, in consequence, was not entered by name in GSB. The primary voucher for her is therefore the following certificate, which was published in an advertisement (VG, 1780, December 30) by Abraham Smith, offering Wormeley's King Herod for sale, viz:

'King Herod was got by Old Fearnought, out of a mare called Kitty Fisher, who was got by Cade, a horse of Lord Godolphin's, by his Lordship's Arabian; her dam was got by Cullen Arabian; out of Bald Charlotte, one of the finest mares in England. Kitty Fisher was the property of the Marquis of Granby when she was sold, and was engaged in [a] sweep stake for 3,600 l. sterling; his Lordship being abroad and the mare bought by me at 3 years old.

Carter Braxton.'

Although Advocate endorsed it, the breeding on the distaff side here assigned has puzzled the modern equine genealogists; for they could find no record of a mating of a daughter of Bald Charlotte with the Cullen Arabian. They have, therefore, agreed (Bruce, i, 97) that Kitty Fisher's dam was the gray filly produced by Bald Charlotte to the Somerset Arabian, who was the dam also of recorded colts by Blank and Buffcoat (GSB, i, 30). That GSB has accepted this identification appears from a note appended to its record of Bald Charlotte's dam (GSB, i, 6) that: 'From this mare the American stallion Boston descends.'

Advocate's warm testimony for Kitty Fisher was as follows:

'Having given an account of Col. Tasker's imported [Maryland] mare Selima, it may not here be improper to add that of Carter Braxton's imported mare Kitty Fisher: as those two mares bred more fine stock in Virginia than any other imported mares brought to this country; it being well known to the sportsmen and breeders for the turf that some of the highest formed racers and stallions bred in that State were descended from those two mares.

'Kitty Fisher was a gray mare foaled in 1755, and imported by Carter Braxton in the fall of 1759. She was bought by Mr. Braxton, at New Market, England, in the spring of 1759, being then the property of the Marquis of Granby, and stood at the time engaged in a sweepstake for 3600 l. for three years old fillies; but the Marquis being abroad with the British armies, he was allowed to withdraw himself from his racing engagements, and directed all his running stock to be sold. At the sale she was purchased as above and sent over to this country. She was got by Cade (one of the finest sons of the Godolphin Arabian): her dam by the Cullen Arabian (*sic*) out of the famous mare Bald Charlotte, a winner of King's plates.

'Kitty Fisher was trained in this country and run, and won easily several matches.'

This is just appreciation of a great and once famous mare; but as a corrective of the current equine feminism it may be well to note here also what F. Becker (*Thoroughbred Record*, October 29, 1927), discussing Boston's pedigree, says:

'I do not assign any superior influence to Kitty Fisher direct. The Regulus element in Fearnought determined the coming-into-being and

rise of her line. Diomed crossed on Fearnought: this powerful combination explains to me the exquisite class of Boston as race horse and sire.'

Bruce notes that Kitty Fisher produced thirteen foals (6 colts and 7 fillies) : from matings with Jolly Roger ; Fearnought (thrice) ; Vampire ; Oscar ; Flimnap ; Nelson's Lonsdale : Light-foot's Partner ; Goode's Shark ; Edward's Quicksilver (by Mercury) ; and Spotswood's Americus. There seems, however, to be confusion in some of these attributions.

Kitty Fisher's reputation caused her name to be widely reproduced in several generations of her descendants, and it has persisted in Virginia even into the twentieth century. This has had the curious consequence of projecting into an unconscious puritan America the fame of the celebrated courtesan who first bore that name ; the Kitty Fisher who agitated London and Bath in the middle years of the eighteenth century more by her impudence and daring horsemanship than by her morals ; and who was a favorite model of Sir Joshua Reynolds.

1764 *Cassandra* (GSB, i, 34)

John Baylor (1705-1772) of 'Newmarket' in Caroline

This Whitenose mare, a granddaughter of the Godolphin, shares with William Evans' Silver the distinction of being listed by name in GSB. Her breeding, her mating in England with Shakespeare, her importation, and her subsequent foal are authenticated by Col. Baylor's letter book, viz :

To Sydenham & Hodgson, August 6, 1763 :

'The troublesome time [i. e., the Seven Years War] being blown over, which I hope will be succeeded by a long and happy peace, induces me once more to attempt the importation of English mares ; which I am much encouraged to doe by the great advantage I have made by the one [Jenny Dismal] you formerly sent me, having bred ex'y colts and filleys from her : two of which I sold this spring for £530 One of yr yearly ships comes in exceeding good season of the year for bringing mares Now for the mare be pleased to make choice of a beautiful strong bright-bay mare of the best present race breed ; at least 14.2 high, as much higher as possible provided she has beauty,

strength and spirit with it; not exceeding five years old; by one of the sons of Ld. Godolphin's old bay Arabian, but more part'y by Regulus, Cade, Babram, Blank, Lath or the Gower Stallion. Could she come from a noble [man's] stud with a pedigree at full length and certificate of her age under his hand she would be looked on here in a much higher light. Suppose you were to imploy Mr. George Grisewood to purchase the mare, as I want many things in his way.'

To Samuel Walderman, April 20, 1764:

'By Capt. Fearon I rec'd. yr very polite and exceeding kind letter accompanying a very fine mare which has since her arrival brought me a very large and promising filley, for which I thankfully acknowledge myself infinitely obliged to you and more so as you generously left it to my choice whether I should take her. I have paid the Captain the bill of exchange on Mr. Backhouse of Liverpool for £95 - 13 sh. 5d.; and would have done the same had the mare died on her passage and had not been insured. You mention her having won several plates; should be glad to know where and whose she was and have written to Mr. Hodgkins on that head which I beg your care of.'

To Thomas Hodgkin, April 20, 1764:

'By Captain Fearon I received a mare sent me by that worthy gentleman Mr. Samuel Walderman with a certificate under your hand and her pedigree from Lord Portmore which his lordship seems to make some small doubt of, not having the original by him; and as I would be very particular in the breed of my cattle begg you will procure me one from the breeder at full length. Mr. Walderman mentions her having won several plates. I cannot find where Cassandra has won any, unless under some other name. Please let me know to whom she then belonged and under what name she then ran. I have all Hebers books and cannot discover anything of it. Shakespeare was most certainly the first horse of the year, and has got me a very fine filley.'

To Thomas Hales, July 18, 1764:

'I had a charming mare in the spring (by Whitenose: dam by Black-legs), and she has since her arrival had an extraordinary fine filly.'

To Samuel Walderman, September 7, 1765:

'[Mr. Hodgkin] has very industriously and with great pains collected [and sent] me full satisfaction relative to [the breeding and turf record of] the mare [Cassandra] you so kindly sent me.'

Bruce records no produce of Cassandra got in Virginia.

1764 *Stella*

John Baylor (1705-1772) of 'Newmarket' in Caroline

As this mare, by Shakespeare (son of Hobgoblin) out of Cassandra (*ante*), was imported in her dam's belly, she is not listed in GSB; but Col. Baylor's letter book (quoted *ante*) is a contemporary voucher for her.

Bruce credits her with three foals by Fearnought, through one of which [Harris' Eclipse] Stella is a taproot in Boston's pedigree.

1765 *Walker's Godolphin mare*

John Baylor (1705-1772) of 'Newmarket' in Caroline

Bruce's record of this daughter of the Godolphin is apparently derived from Edgar's pedigree of the Virginia horse, Syphax (whose name Bruce spells Cyphase; and Edgar, Cyphax). Edgar (p. 169) cites certificates of John Walker (1773) and James Saunders (1774) to the effect that Syphax was foaled 1766, got by Booth's Janus out of an 'imported mare by the Godolphin Arabian: Darley Arabian: Byerly Turk: Taffolet Barb: Place's White Turk: Natural Barb mare.' It will be noted that the breeding here assigned to the dam of the Walker mare is that of the mare got by the Darley on Grey Ramsden's dam (GSB, i, 5, 77. See also *ante s. v.* Jack of Diamonds); but there is no record of a mating of that mare with the Godolphin.

As further testimony for the presence in Virginia after 1765 of such a mare as Walker's, Bruce derived also from Edgar the record (*s. v.* Lasthenia) of a 'Godolphin mare' mated with Morton's Traveller. This confirmation of the claim of the Syphax pedigree apparently persuaded him to accept the Walker mare as proved; but his next act was arbitrary. Despite the incongruity of the Virginia dates and a difference in breeding, he proceeded economically to consolidate the mare here in question with Clarke's Godolphin mare (*supra*). The Virginia certificates may be in error in either or both cases, but if they

are to be used at all, they give the two mares, at most, the relationship of aunt and niece.

As to the importer, there is a shred of evidence for a persuasive conjecture in the last entry in Col. Baylor's surviving letter book, viz: a letter of September 7, 1765, to Samuel Waterman, in which he says:

'By Captain Fearon I rec'd yours, accompanied by another fine mare from Mr. Hodgkin to whom I shall write more fully on that head.'

Unfortunately, the Hodgkin letter is missing; but, considering Col. Baylor's appetite for Godolphin blood, and applying the process of elimination, it seems likely that the Walker mare was Baylor's importation of 1765.

1765 *Moll Brazen*

Presley Thornton (1721-1769) of Northumberland

This Cub mare was advertised for sale by the importer, Henry Mitchell, merchant of Fredericksburg (MG, September 19, 1765; quoted in full in ATR, iv, 55) with other stock (including the Regulus colt, Merry Tom, *q. v. ante*, and the Matchem mare, subsequently noted on the Maryland turf as Lloyd's Nancy Bywell) then recently landed in Virginia. This advertisement described her as

'A g. m. bred by Mr. Hodson of Tadcaster [in Yorkshire], four years old, 14½ hands high.

'She was got by Cub (son of old Fox and the Warlock Galloway): her dam by Torrismond (son of the Bolton Starling and Young Cade's dam): Second [by Flying Childers] brother to Snip [GSB, i, 179]: Mogul (brother to Babraham): Sweepstakes (sire of the dam of Whistle Jacket): Sloven's sister by Bay Bolton: Curwen Bay Barb: Curwen Old Spot: Whitelegged Lowther Barb.'

That she was purchased by Presley Thornton of 'Northumberland House' on the Potomac appears from a subsequent advertisement (VG, 1776, April 19) by his son, Peter Presley Thornton (1750-1781), of her son, Shakespeare, by Fearnought. She was early mated also with the Maryland horse Othello and produced to him the mare Septima, whose son (by Light-foot's Partner) was Lee's and Hardyman's stake horse, Mark Anthony.

When Mark Anthony was retired to the stud and was advertised by Littlebury Hardyman (VG, 1771, March 21) there was current a misunderstanding as to Moll Brazen's breeding, for it was there stated that 'Moll Brazen's sire was Spark.' It was doubtless to correct this error that, in his advertisement of 1776, cited above, P. P. Thornton repeated the full pedigree of the mare in the language of the Mitchell advertisement of 1765.

Moll Brazen ultimately passed into the stud of Daniel McCarty of Fairfax (AF, ix, 263), where she was mated with his Silverlegs (by Morton's Traveller out of Jenny Cameron), and produced the dam of McCarty's Cub (son of Yorick). For this stock Edgar (pp. 168, 453) had certificates by Daniel McCarty, the younger, and Daniel Brent (1800, 1828); which give Moll Brazen the breeding recited in the Mitchell and Thornton advertisements.³⁸

Bruce adopted the Mitchell and Thornton pedigree. He did not, however, identify in GSB the dam there attributed to Moll Brazen; for no Torismond mare has been identified to fit the case.

There is incidental evidence that Peter Presley Thornton owned another imported mare; and, as he died in 1781, that mare must also have been imported before the Revolution. Not noted by Bruce, the testimony for her is a certificate (1828) by George Chichester of Fairfax that the taproot of his mares, Lady Bull and Virginia Nell, was 'Col. Presley Thornton's imported roan mare called Strawberry' (Edgar, pp. 293, 521). She might have been the 'ro. f. Strawberry,' foaled in 1771, by Squirrel out of the Trifle mare Harriet (GSB, i, 99).

³⁸ Moll Brazen must, of course, be distinguished from the Cub mare noted in GSB (i, 178) as 'sent to America.' That was Delancey's Cub, one of the pioneer thoroughbreds of New York. For the story of how her daughter, Miss Slamerkin, came to Virginia in old age, see John C. Goode's memoir of his father, Thomas Goode of Chesterfield; to which reference has been made *ante*, s. v. Lofty. Daingerfield's Gift, imported to Virginia after the Revolution, was a uterine brother of Delancey's Cub.

1765 *Isabella*

John Page (1744-1808) of 'Rosewell' in Gloucester

This mare, recorded by Bruce as 'Monkey mare,' has not been identified in GSB.

Although Governor Page makes no reference in his *Autobiography* to his horses, it is not unlikely that he set up a stud as early as 1765, when at once he came of age and succeeded to his father's estate. There is, then, no improbability in Edgar's citation (p. 96) of a certificate by Governor Page (1780) of the breeding of his Virginia horse, Atlas, as 'Got by imp. Ranter: Lonsdale: imported mare, the property of John Page, Esq. of Rosewell.'

Having thus acknowledged the fact that he was an importer, Governor Page apparently left to posterity no other evidence for his breeding activities; and none at all, except the memories of his neighbours, as to the origin of his stock. As a consequence there was a debate on the subject in AF (ix, 207, 214; x, 71) and ATR (i, 53). As a deduction from an advertisement of Lonsdale (VG, 1777, April 18), which described him as 'Got by Jolly Roger out of an imported mare bought of J. Ramsden [bred by] Lord Lonsdale,' when read with the certificate quoted, it was agreed that Secretary Thomas Nelson's Lonsdale was a son of the mare here in question and that 'Lonsdale and his dam were both imported into Virginia.'

Sadly to seek, Edgar (p. 44), followed by Bruce (i, 34, 111), adjusted their records to the conclusions of this debate as to the breeding; and on that traditional authority recorded that Lonsdale was 'got by Jolly Roger, son of the Gower Stallion' (GSB, i, 131); and that his dam was 'got by Monkey [i. e., the horse imported into Virginia in 1747 by Nathaniel Harrison after an extended career in the stud in England]: Lonsdale Black Arabian: Lonsdale Bay Arabian: Coneyskins.' Finally, Edgar (*s. v.* Poll Peacham) had an undated certificate by John Tayloe which gives the mare a name, in a description of her as 'Mr. Page's famous mare called Isabella.' None of this can be tested in GSB.

1766 *Silver (alias Sylva)*, (GSB, i, 2)

William Evans of Surry

Among the eighteenth century imported matrons this granddaughter of Crofts' Partner shares with Baylor's Cassandra the distinction of mention by name in [the recent editions of] GSB. There, the entry of a filly got by Crofts' Partner upon the Bald Galloway Mare (sister to Roxana) is followed by a note that 'This mare had . . . a f. Sylva by the Belsize Arabian (sent to America).'

That she was imported by William Evans is certified in ATR, i, 524. It does not appear whether Silver was imported with Evans' Sterling (also by the Belsize Arabian. See *ante*); but, as the horse was advertised at stud by Mr. Evans in 1768, when he would have been a six year old, and Bruce's record of Silver's first foal by Sterling is followed by her son Babraham (by Fearnought), to whom the date 1769 is assigned, it may be assumed that that was the case.

Silver was mated also with the Maryland horse True Briton (son of Spark), but it is through her daughter, Sally Painter (the get of Evans' Sterling, above mentioned) that she is remembered. That mare became the foundation of the stud of William E. Broadnax (1755-1831) of Brunswick (for whose interesting family see *W. & M. Quar.*, vi, 61; xiv, 52, 135; VM, xxiv, 417); and there produced Diana (by Clodius), whose descendants culminated in James J. Harrison's great horse, Virginian (by Sir Archy). There are some interesting notes by Mr. Broadnax on the characteristics of the Silver family, in AF, ix, 407.

1768 *Blossom* *Thomas Nelson (1716-1782) of York*

Bruce was unable to find this granddaughter of Old Crab in GSB; but certificates (1798) by General Thomas Nelson, jr. (1738-1789) of York (cited by Edgar, pp. 433, 468), give the pedigree of two colts bred by him, [Willis'] Rockingham and [Nelson's] Sloe (both advertised in VM, 1775, March 25), as 'Got by [Lightfoot's] Partner, son of Morton's Traveller out of the imported mare, Tasker's Selima: his dam was [Secretary] Nelson's imported mare Blossom, by Sloe [son of Crab: Flying Childers, GSB, i, 126]: Regulus.'

Bruce cites a tradition that there was imported with this mare a colt by Bay Bolton, and lists Virginia produce by her (in addition to the Lightfoot Partners named above) by Fear-nought and his son Specimen, and by the Maryland horse, Othello.

In the efflorescence of equine feminism which followed the publication of Bruce Lowe's remarkable book (*Breeding Race-horses by the Figure System*, 1895), the limitations of the records of the early Virginia mares have greatly distressed American breeders. At long last, they found the pedigrees of some of our champions (e. g., Lexington) run to earth in eighteenth century Virginia; and as yet they have been unable to lift them across the Atlantic into recognition as right heirs of the Bruce Lowe matriarchate.

To meet this demand, the late W. H. Rowe was at pains to construct a purely American Figure System. His array of the American foundation mares (published in W. Allison, *The British Thoroughbred Horse*, 1907, p. 144), based on the pedigrees in tail female of 455 winners of American classic races down to the end of the nineteenth century, lists 53 mares, of which 22 are Bruce Lowe taproots; the remaining 31 being eighteenth and early nineteenth century American mares, some imported and some native bred, whose own dams are not now known. While some of Mr. Rowe's Figure families are based on immigration from England since the Revolution, several of them establish their links with England through mares included in the roster set out above. Those in Mr. Rowe's second category may have been as nobly bred as any of their contemporaries in England, but, as in the case of *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, failure to preserve vital statistics has left their descendants in the same plight as many of their owners: genealogical proof is lacking of the link which connected them with their English forbears.

Quite apart from a breeder's interest in these mares and their matings, their owners are significant for the purposes of the present study, for they make up a company which has a distinction of its own, actually and as compared with the array of the owners of the horses. Their names prove the identity of the leaders of the Virginia turf of their time with the Virginia 'consular' families, the human F. F. V.s. It will be noted that several of the owners of these mares were members of the Council and that, under later political conditions, two of them were signers of the Declaration of Independence.

Such were the men who, before the Revolution, supported the Virginia turf for pure sport and without the suggestion of commercialism which is implicit in the multiplication of advertisements of horses during the two decades immediately preceding 1776.

CHAPTER FIVE

The First Imported Heavy Drafts

IT is interesting that in the full flood of Virginia's enthusiasm for 'Arabian' blood in the high years of horse breeding between the treaty of Paris and the Declaration of Independence there were several enlightened essays to improve the farm stock of Virginia. The beginning was made by the importation of English shire horses. The selection of that breed as a type of the heavy draft suitable to Virginia conditions was a mistake, but at that time an inevitable mistake, considering the fact that eighteenth century Virginians were controlled by English standards and fashions; but it may be noted that of all the cold blooded breeds, the shire horse has a right to stand among the thoroughbreds, for he is the direct descendant of the old English great horse on which the medieval knight rode to battle. (For his romantic history, see Sir W. Gilbey, *The great horse . . . from the time of the Roman invasion till its development into the Shire horse*, 2d ed., 1899.) Although a Bourbon 'thoroughbred' writer in ATR in 1831, alluding to these experiments, recorded them, with obvious contempt, as dismal failures, we know that they were simply in advance of their time. If the importers were not encouraged to go on and find a draft horse suited to Virginia, their initiative warrants for them the respect of those who have found such a horse, the breeders of the Percheron whose successes, where they failed, have given distinction to Loudoun and Fauquier and other 'grass' counties of Northern Virginia.

The testimony for these experiments is a series of advertisements:

[1768, May 12, VG]

'There stands at Varina in Henrico, a dray stallion, sixteen hands and a half high, just imported from Britain, well calculated for getting work horses. He will cover mares at fifteen shillings the leap. Pasturage gratis.

'Thomas M. Randolph [1741-1794, of Tuckahoe]'.
'

[1769, April 20, VG]

'Goliah will cover this season at my plantation in Goochland county, at ten shillings the leap, forty shillings the season, and three pounds to insure a colt. He is of the true dray breed, full sixteen hands high, excessive fat and sleek, and in high perfection. The mares will have exceeding good pasturage gratis, and the money to be paid before they are taken away.

'Thomas M. Randolph.'

[1772, April 16, VG]

'Nabob, a complete dray horse stands at Marlborough, the seat of the late John Mercer, Esquire, deceased [in Stafford. See *ante* under Ranter], till the 1st day of June when he will return to Colonel Mercer's lower quarter, on Shenando, for the use of that neighborhood. It is presumed nothing more need be said in favor of Nabob than that Colonel Mercer while at London imported him for his own use. He is at Marlborough purely for the benefit of that estate, but any person inclining to avail himself of so convenient an opportunity of getting his breed may do so at the rate of two pistoles the leap: the cash must be sent with the mares. Excellent pasturage, and the best care (though not answerable for loss) will be found till harvest.'

Meanwhile, the same problem had been approached in a different and, as we now see it, a more promising way; of which there is similar testimony:

After the death in 1764 of the elder William Lightfoot of Sandy Point, the importer of Bolton (*ante*), someone representing his estate (perhaps the overseer John Pierce who signed the ensuing advertisement; for William Lightfoot, jr., was then at school) decided to try to satisfy the fixed conviction of his contemporaries that 'Arabian' blood was best for plantation work as well as for the saddle and the turf; and at the same time increase the size of the common plantation horse. To that end he mated Bolton with a large 'dray' mare (it does not appear whether or not she had been imported) and thus secured a colt which combined weight and size with hot blood. This was the very combination which had already produced the Percheron horse in France. The service of that colt was offered to the public, as follows:

[1773, April 22, VG; repeated in a different form in 1774]

'Sportsman, a large black horse, got by Bolton on a dray mare, will cover at seven shillings and sixpence a leap, or twenty shillings the

season. Good pasturage gratis and the greatest care taken of the mares, but will not be answerable for any that may get away.

‘John Pierce.’

To the record of these pioneer Virginia draft horses it is not inappropriate to append that of a contemporary effort to improve the breed of the mule upon the plantations of the Southside:

[1776, May 24, VG]

‘Midas, a remarkable large jackass, imported last fall from Malta, by Philip Mazzei, esq; stands at my plantation in Prince George county, and covers at two dollars the leap, 40s. the season and 3 l. to ensure It may not be amiss to inform the publick, that, from the difficulty of obtaining and the expence attending the importation of an ass of this kind, the price for covering is necessarily much higher than any one of the common breed, but it will be amply compensated by the size and strength of the mules he gets.

‘Theodorick Bland, jun. [1742-1790, of Cawson’s].’



JOHN TAYLOE (1771-1828) OF MOUNT AIRY

CHAPTER SIX

After the Revolution

IT is not without significance that this Homeric catalogue, opened on the organ tone of the Darley Arabian, should by chance end in the minor key of the humble mule; for the heroic age of horse breeding in Virginia ended when Jolly Roger, Morton's Traveller, Booth's Janus, and Fearnought passed off the scene. Measured by what they accomplished and by their hold on the imagination of an entire people, there has never since been such a quartette of horses at stud in Virginia at the same time. Greater horses, both imported and native, there may have been; certainly, some of their successors, playing their parts in an age of publicity, have left more familiar reputations; but the fact remains that the *epigones* built upon the foundations laid by our equine F. F. V.s.

The history of the thoroughbred horse in Virginia following the Revolution is one of vicissitudes and sharp contrasts. The popular passion for racing survived the separation from the mother country and flamed again with new ardor. The gentlemen of the Rappahannock valley took up again for a generation the torch their fathers had laid down. It was of that region and that generation, between the Revolution and the war of 1812, that B. Ogle Tayloe could in his old age write warmly, remembering his youth and his father's leadership of the turf:

'That about sixty years ago, and several succeeding years, was the golden age of the Turf in Virginia and Maryland,' he said in 1858 (*Porter's Spirit of the Times*, iv, 67), 'is shown by its yet unpublished history. The beginning of the present century was a period of great national prosperity, especially in the grain growing States; for our breadstuffs there was an unparalleled demand, wheat bringing at home two dollars per bushel. This gave increased activity to our commerce—American sails whitening every sea. Planters in Virginia, Maryland and South Carolina, had large incomes; several of them from \$50,000 to \$60,000 a year, who were actively engaged on the

Turf at that period. They prosecuted its pursuits as a pastime, not for gain. To them the cost was nothing. They bought horses at large prices, and had their studs, and enjoyed society, like English noblemen. The best horses from England were imported: Medley, Shark, Diomed, Saltram, Spread-Eagle, Gabriel, Bedford, Buzzard, &c.; and also brood-mares of the purest blood; Castianira, Peggy, Anvilina, &c. From these sources originated the distinguished horses of the olden times, from which are descended the most renowned of the present day. Beginning from 1790, we have only to name Bel Air and Grey Diomed, by Medley; Virago and Maria, by Shark; [Ball's] Florizel and Sir Archy, by Diomed; Maid of the Oaks and Floretta, by Spread-Eagle; Post-Boy and Oscar, by Gabriel; Gallatin, Fairy, Nancy Air, and Lottery, by Bedford; and Hephestion by Buzzard. Three of the brood-mares named left illustrious descendants in South Carolina; and Castianira was the dam of Sir Archy and Hephestion. What horse is there of any repute in the whole country that is not descended from some of the above named?

But there was another side to the picture. If between 1784 and 1800 Malcolm Hart of Louisa imported Medley (by Gimcrack, grandson of the Godolphin); John Hoomes of Caroline imported Diomed (by Florizel, son of Herod, and himself the winner of the first English Derby); and William Lightfoot of Charles City imported Saltram (by O'Kelly's Eclipse) another Derby winner, and thereby reinvigorated Virginia with new strains of the blood of Shem and Ham and Japhet (as The Druid called the three 'cornerstone' families), the same appetite for racing which actuated the members of the Tappahannock Jockey Club was being contemporaneously satisfied on the South Side with cheap horses. A judicious writer in ATR (iii, 343, 505) referring particularly to that region, remarked in 1831 that, measured by the standards of the breeder, the average product of the post-Revolutionary, compared with the ante-Revolutionary period, was of more racers but fewer high bred horses. Advocate (himself a South Sider) found the explanation in the development and expansion of a tendency of which we have noted the beginning before 1770, namely, commercialism:

'Previous to the year 1800,' he said, 'but little degeneracy had taken place either in the purity of the blood, the form or performance of the Virginia race horse: and in searching for the causes of a change for the worse after this period the most prominent one was the injudicious importation of inferior stallions from England. About the period of time last mentioned, Col. Hoomes and many others, availing themselves of the passion for racing, inundated Virginia with imported stallions bought up frequently at low prices in England, having little reputation there and of less approved blood; thereby greatly contaminating the tried and approved stocks which had long and eminently distinguished themselves for their feats on the turf, their services under the saddle, and as valuable cavalry horses during the revolutionary war.'

The consequences of these activities and of the contemporary decay in the economic status of the agrarian interest following the war of 1812 was that, despite brilliant exceptions, judged as a community it may be fairly said that the Old Dominion suspended the breeding of horses in the grand manner.

The surest test of this deduction is that the value of even the best horse flesh then reached its lowest level. With just pride in a retrospection upon his own contribution to the marked revival of respect for the thoroughbred which began about 1830, J. S. Skinner illustrated this (ATR, xiv, 134) with examples:

'Prior to the establishment of the Turf Register [1829], the dam of Kate Kearney and of Sussex, two among the best nags ever bred in the Old Dominion, was sold at public auction, for thirteen pounds, tobacco currency, and was afterwards bought out of a cart for \$50, by Col. J. M. Selden [of Henrico], a fair specimen, himself, of the good old Virginia stock; without, at the time, it is true, a knowledge of her pedigree. She was used as a common farm hack, in the heaviest and hardest work, going in the wagon and breaking up heavy James' River bottom-lands in the plough; and, as Col. S. has assured us, was the only horse on the estate, whereof there were many much larger, that never lost a day's work, or required to be turned out and rested occasionally, from sickness or exhaustion. Being informed of her blood, she was rescued from these 'base uses' and sent to Sir Archy, by whom she produced Kate Kearney, and to Sir Charles, and produced the renowned, but ill-fated Sussex, sire of Lady Clifden.

'Lady Lightfoot went out of a common livery stable at \$500; and old [American] Eclipse, not long before his race with Sir Charles, was offered to the writer of these remarks for \$2,500. At an advanced age he sold for \$10,000, and is now [1841], at twenty-seven years old, in vigorous health, covering in Kentucky at \$100. [He died in 1847, aged 33.] One of his get by Lady Lightfoot was sold to a gentleman of Pennsylvania for \$10,000, and that only on condition, as it was rumored, that the buyer would reciprocate the favour, by letting the gallant owner of him have one hundred bottles of his old Bingham wine, for ten times that number of dollars.'

John Randolph of Roanoke had bred blood horses persistently throughout this dark age, and only just survived into the ensuing renaissance. Shortly before his death [1833] he was asked at the British Minister's dinner table in Washington whether Virginia was maintaining unimpaired her proud and hitherto undisputed claim to a superior race of horses, and made the outrageous reply: 'No, sir! No, sir! Since we gave up horse racing and fox hunting and turned up the whites of our eyes, our horses as well as our men have sadly degenerated.'

These vicissitudes were marked by new shifts in the centre of Virginia's interest in the horse. As that centre had previously moved from the Rappahannock to the Appomattox and back again, following 1830 it was found on the upper waters of the Roanoke. Thence, following a race movement, the ark of the covenant was taken for a sojourn in Tennessee before it finally came to rest on the limestone prairies of Kentucky.

Though never a lost art, it is only in the twentieth century that Virginia has reasserted a claim to serious consideration in the production of the bred horse, and that claim has come out of still another geographical region—the piedmont and valley grass counties.³⁴

³⁴ The American Stallion Register for 1925 lists the 155 best thoroughbred horses at stud in the United States. Their geographical distribution shows 103 in Kentucky, 36 in Virginia, and 16 in all other states. In 1927 the Virginia State Chamber of Commerce published a bulletin (*Virginia and the Thoroughbred*, by W. J. Carter) which describes in detail the breeding establishments at which these thirty-six Virginia horses stand. They are in the counties of Albemarle, Clarke, Fauquier, Loudoun, Nelson, Orange, and Rockingham, and are estimated, taken together, to represent an investment of ten million dollars in stock and equipment.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

A. *The Chincoteague Pony*

The earliest printed testimony for the Chincoteague pony is a lively statement by Governor Henry A. Wise (1806-1876), reported by J. S. Skinner in his essay, *The Horse in England and America*:

'There has been, since long before the American Revolution, on the islands along the sea-board of Maryland and Virginia, a race of very small, compact, hardy horses, usually called beach-horses. They run wild throughout the year, and are never fed. When the snow sometimes covers the ground for a few days in winter, they dig through it in search of food. They are very diminutive, but many of them are of perfect symmetry and extraordinary powers of action and endurance. The Hon. H. A. W.[ise] of Accomac, has been heard to say that he knew one of these beach-horses, which served as pony and hack for the boys of one family, for several generations; and another that could trot his 15 miles within the hour, and was yet so small that a tall man might straddle him, and with his toes touch the ground on each side. He spoke of another that he believes could have trotted 30 miles in two hours. As an instance of their innate horror of slavery, he mentions the fact of a herd of them once breaking indignantly from a pen into which they had been trapped, for the purpose of being marked and otherwise cruelly mutilated; and rather than submit to their pursuers, they swam off at once into the wide expanse of the ocean, preferring a watery grave, to a life of ignominious celibacy and subjugation!'

There is a pleasant elaboration of this with local colour from Chincoteague Island in *Scribner's Monthly* (1877), xiii, 737. The local tradition there rehearsed, that the original English colonists of the Eastern Shore found the ponies already in possession of the land, is not convincing.

B. *The breeders' banes, snake fences and horse thieves*

A disclaimer of responsibility for escapes of visiting mares is to be found in so many of the Southside horse advertisements after 1768 as to be evidence of a recognised current risk in breeding, incident to the general lack of adequate fences. The wonder is that the characteristic Virginia snake fence of decaying rails (which is well illustrated in relation to horses in W. H. Brown's silhouette of John Randolph inspecting his young stock at Roanoke) was ever sufficient to hold high blooded horses playing at pasture.

Later advertisements disclaim responsibility also for visiting mares stolen from pasture. By the middle of the eighteenth century horse stealing was rife in Virginia. In 1744, and again in 1748, it evoked thunders from the Assembly (Hening, v, 247; vi, 124: the recitals are particularly interesting as showing the methods employed); but, despite the extension of the death penalty to the receiver of a stolen horse, this 'most villainous practice,' as the Assembly termed it, grew to be a trade. In 1772 (VG, October 18) George Weedon, the Fredericksburg inn-keeper, who became a general in the Continental army, advertised that 'as horse stealing is become so common and the difficulty of conviction so great (as proved by a recent instance) in justice to myself I am obliged to inform all gentlemen who put up with me that I cannot be answerable for the forthcoming of horses put into my pasture or stable, the profits being inadequate to the risks.' In 1780 (VG, March 16) Thomas Mann Randolph of Tuckahoe offered a reward of a thousand dollars for the return of a blood mare heavy with foal stolen from his pasture at Dover in Goochland; adding that 'there has been twenty valuable horses stolen out of this neighborhood within a few months past.' Directing attention to 'several suspicious persons who moved out of this county [Goochland] and the upper end of Henrico last fall and are now living in the neighbouring counties,' he offered 'a farther reward of two thousand dollars [payable] on conviction of the thief, provided he is executed.'

C. *General Robert E. Lee's War Horse, Traveller*

This famous horse is not in the Stud Book.

In a paper by Thomas L. Broun, of which the MS. is now in the Confederate Museum at Richmond (see *Southern Historical Society*, xviii, 388), it is stated that this Traveller was bred and raised near White Sulphur Springs; that he was of 'the Grey Eagle stock;' that as a colt under the name of Jeff Davis he won prizes at the Lewisburg fair in 1859 and '60; that he joined the Confederate army in Wise's Brigade during the campaign in Southwest Virginia in 1861, and followed that command to South Carolina, where General Lee purchased him from Colonel Broun.

All of this is confirmed, except as to the breeding, by a more detailed statement, secured and vouched for by Governor D. C. Heyward of South Carolina, viz:



GENERAL LEE ON TRAVELLER, 1867

'Traveller was raised by Andrew Johnston near Blue Sulphur Springs, Greenbrier county, W. Va. He let his son, J. W. Johnston, have him in the year that he was three years old, after having taken first premium at the Greenbrier county fair, both as a suckling colt and again as a yearling or two years old, I don't remember which. His grandsire was old imported (*sic*) Arab, his dam Flora, a good mare, pedigree not known. As a four-year old, General Lee first saw him on Big Sewell mountain and admired him at once, asking if he could be bought. I, J. W. Johnston, promised him that I would see that he got him if he wanted him. I had promised Captain Joseph Broun to let him have him as soon as I had to return to my company (I was on detail duty that required the use of a horse, I belonged to the infantry). In the winter of 1861 we were ordered to South Carolina to report to General Lee (he having left us on Sewell). We took the horse and turned him over to General Lee in South Carolina. Captain Broun proposed presenting him to General Lee, but he would not accept him, but paid \$200.

'Traveller was a straight, high headed fellow that always attracted attention. He had a rapid springy walk, with high spirit, bold carriage and muscular strength. He needed neither whip nor spur and would walk five or six miles an hour over rough mountain roads with his rider holding him in check with a tight rein. Moved with vim and eagerness soon as mounted, and was about sixteen hands high, weight about 1100 pounds, quite good disposition and loved to be petted and was just as intelligent as possible for a dumb brute to be. Was a Confederate gray, deep chest, short back, strong haunches, flat legs, small head, broad forehead, delicate ears, quick eye and black mane and tail. There was no end to his endurance of toil, hunger, thirst, heat and cold, and all the suffering through which he passed.

'(Signed) J. W. Johnston [of Lewisburg,
Greenbrier County, W. Va.]'

The breeding of this Traveller is thus left in confusion, but it seems reasonably certain, nevertheless, that if not eligible for registration he was infused with as good horse blood as there was in Virginia. The evidence suggests, indeed, that on both sides he descended from imp. Diomed. Whether his sire was a Grey Eagle or a Goode's Arab (there was no 'imported' Arab), he would have derived on that side from Diomed's son, Sir Archy; while the name of his dam (Flora) suggests descent from another son of Diomed, Ball's Florizel, through one of the many Floras of that breeding recorded in the Stud Book.

More than that, whatever his pedigree, the qualities of General Lee's Traveller were those of the 'bred' horse—conformation and endurance. In those respects the Lees confirm Mr. Johnston's evidence. Captain Bob Lee said, 'he was never known to tire.' Gen. Lee's own description of the horse to an artist was, 'I would draw . . . his fine muscular proportions, muscular figure, deep chest and short back, strong haunches, flat legs, small head, broad forehead, delicate ears, quick eye, small feet, and black mane and tail.' These testimonies and Traveller's skeleton, now in the Washington and Lee University Museum, are persuasive that, however derived, the horse was 'bred.'

It is of interest to recall, in relation to the breeding of Gen. Lee's Traveller, that the Duke of Wellington's equally famous charger, Copenhagen, was of doubtful origin. At one time admitted to GSB, Copenhagen was afterwards expunged because 'it was discovered that his grand dam was a hunter of unknown pedigree. There was, however,' concludes Mr. C. M. Prior, 'some justification for considering him to be a thoroughbred horse' (*History of the Racing Calendar*, 1926).

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